

National Civic Review

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Volume L, No. 6

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—Editorial

- How Manager Leads
Steve Matthews

- New Money for Cities
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- Metro and Little Places
George H. Deming

- Two Views on
Services vs. Taxes



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News of the League

Group Named to Advise on Model

Nineteen officers and former officers of the League have been appointed by President William Collins as a special advisory committee for the revision of the *Model City Charter*.

Luther H. Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration and noted consultant to governments, was chosen chairman of the committee, which will advise staff and technical consultants during the revision project.

Others named to the committee are:

Bayard H. Faulkner, former mayor of Montclair, New Jersey; J. B. Ather-ton, who was chairman of the commission that drafted the Honolulu city-county charter; Frederick L. Bird, former director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet;

Arthur W. Bromage, former city councilman, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee; L. P. Cookingham, city manager, Fort Worth,

Texas; Winston W. Crouch, chairman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles;

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Charles P. Taft, former mayor, Cincinnati; Frank C. Moore, former comptroller and former lieutenant governor, state of New York; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, former president, League of Women Voters of Michigan; and Wilson W. Wyatt, lieutenant governor of Kentucky and former mayor of Louisville.

President Collins stressed the need to reflect the experience with both council-manager and strong mayor charters.



Luther Gulick

Executive Committee meeting, clockwise: Luther Gulick (back to camera), John S. Linen, James M. Osborn, Alfred Willoughby, Richard S. Childs, Vernon C. Myers, William Collins and Charles P. Pelham.





Discussing Model City Charter revision are, clockwise: William N. Cassella, Jr. (back to camera), Charlton F. Chute, George H. Deming, George H. Hallett, Jr., John E. Bebout, Richard S. Childs, William J. D. Boyd, Frank P. Grad and Harold Korn.

State Project Nearing Completion

The League's State Constitutional Studies Project should be substantially completed by the end of 1961, according to a report by John P. Wheeler, Jr., project director.

Dr. Wheeler, who was on leave from Hollins College while directing the project, listed the five major background publications already published and detailed plans for the completion of the remaining five or more publications.

One of these, he said, is in proof ready for printing: a manual on the planning, administration and conduct of constitutional conventions for delegates and students of government.

Two additional publications—salient issues of constitutional revision and a practical guide for citizen groups on the techniques of studying their state constitutions, are in manuscript.

A fourth, dealing with the future role of the states, is being written in the hope that it "will break new ground and present original and provocative ideas about the future role of the states, not in narrow constitutional or legal terms nor even in purely political ones, but in the broadest terms that view the states as politico-cultural-economic units within our federal system."

This study, Dr. Wheeler added, has proved especially difficult because "few have given real attention to the future role of the states except to cry out against over-centralization or condemn the weaknesses of the states."

Preparation of the sixth edition of the *Model State Constitution* has been planned as the concluding publication of the project. By correspondence and at meetings, criticisms of the present model and suggestions of improvements have been gathered. Tentative drafts will be circulated for comment and are scheduled, in revised form, for discussion at the 67th National Conference on Government in Miami Beach.

"The project has greatly increased the capacity of the National Municipal League to perform its traditional function of citizen education in public affairs," Dr. Wheeler commented.

"Besides the information now available for answering specific inquiries, the project has provided additional materials which can readily be put into the hands of interested citizens and groups. These include not only the published studies but various other types of materials—bibliographies, summaries of meetings and discussions."

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Editorial Comment

A Thought on 'States' Rights'

THERE is a widespread approval of the idea that the functions of government should, in so far as possible, be performed by the governments that are closest to the people.

As in the case of economy, however, everyone is for it until the doctor gets specific about the useless parts he proposes to amputate.

There already are howls of distress in connection with current efforts to "pass back to the states"—and, let us hope, to the cities—responsibilities which for one reason or another have gravitated to Washington. The states are not being slow about asking where the money will come from.

Truth is that the services that come most readily to mind never were handled by the states because they deliberately ducked them.

Lest it be thought that this trend toward centralization in government is something recent or that it has been due to some conscious plot, it might be well to ponder the words spoken nearly half a century ago by Elihu Root, in an address delivered December 12, 1906, before the Pennsylvania Society:

It is useless for the advocates of states' rights to inveigh against the supremacy of the constitutional laws of the United States or against the extension of national authority in the fields of necessary control where the states themselves fail in

the performance of their duty. The instinct for self-government among the people of the United States is too strong to permit them long to respect anyone's right to exercise a power which he fails to exercise. The governmental control which they deem just and necessary they will have. It may be that such control would better be exercised in particular instances by the governments of the states, but the people will have the control they need, either from the states or from the national government; and if the states fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised—in the national government.

The true and only way to preserve state authority is to be found in the awakened conscience of the states, their broadened views and higher standard of responsibility to the general public; in effective legislation by the states, in conformity to the general moral sense of the country; and in the vigorous exercise for the general public good of that state authority which is to be preserved.

And in a speech of acceptance of the senatorship of New York delivered before the legislature on January 28, 1909, he said:

If the powers of the states are to be preserved and their authority is to be continued, the states must exercise their powers. The only way to maintain the powers of government is to govern.

Reprinted from *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, February 1954.

The Schizophrenic Taxpayer

MOST citizens seem to have split personalities when it comes to their double reactions toward taxes.

Maybe this analogy isn't the happiest but as a benign Dr. Jekyll the citizen applauds statements that we should pay our teachers more, we should have more policemen, or we certainly need a new concert hall. But when it comes to suggested taxes to pay for these items, Jekyll becomes Mr. Hyde in his angry vehemence. Mr. Citizen should logically tie together the two phases of this dilemma. Instead of merely fuming against a wheel tax, he should more logically say, "I am against

the wheel tax because I believe that bus riders should pay higher fares if necessary to keep Transit going." Or instead of, "I am against the school tax levy," he should more logically say, "I am against this tax because I believe school teachers are being paid enough for the time being."

We cannot help but ask why our high schools and colleges don't do a better job in training future citizens to act more logically toward their tax problems.

From Municipal News, publication of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, February 25, 1961.

Democracy — Demands and Rewards

DEMOCRACY is the most demanding form of society—demanding in that it calls for a balancing of individual liberty and community responsibility; demanding in that it calls for a citizenry which participates in decision-making; demanding in that it calls for an almost universal commitment to the sanctity of the individual; demanding in that it calls for a high degree of self-discipline.

Democracy is also the most re-

warding form of society—rewarding in that it gives recognition to the dignity of each individual; rewarding in that it lends encouragement to each citizen to develop fully his potentialities; rewarding in that it grants equality of opportunity to each according to his merit; rewarding in that it grants no sanctions to bigotry.

From an address by Robert E. McLaughlin, Commissioner, District of Columbia, at Washington, D. C., February 18, 1961.

How Manager Leads

His success depends on ability to compromise and reason—and to avoid sticking out his neck.

By STEVE MATTHEWS*

ONE of the healthiest trends discernible at the local government level is that political conflict has in many instances been replaced by a discussion of the issues. People are more and more concerned about needed public improvements, better schools, better refuse and sanitation service, better utility service, bigger and safer airports, and ample water supply, along with many policy issues. In case after case these desires—or in extreme instances demands—are fortunately being met to preserve and improve the livability of urban America.

Leadership is the foundation of this realization. At its highest peak this leadership is the ability to stimulate people to work together when they are under no obligation to do so.

What, then, is the city manager's role in leadership? The three basic positions which a manager can take in leadership involve many factors relative to his success or failure.

The first type of manager is the neck leader or neck manager. He is the man who leads with his neck most of the time. There are many actions which mark him as such. For example, he makes a recommendation on all agenda items. In order

to eliminate all doubt, he likes to write on the agenda: "Recommended by the city manager." He recommends policy to the council in public meetings without prior discussion with the council; he presents engineering facts and figures to prove everything he places on the agenda. There is little alternative except to accept that which is placed on the agenda by the city manager. Many times, however, he is statistically right and politically wrong.

The neck leader settles all controversial problems with citizen groups prior to the council meetings. He also makes all administrative and committee appointments authorized by the charter without consulting the council in advance. After all, he rationalizes, the charter gives him authority for appointments. As one can readily see, the neck leader invariably heads for trouble.

Council members never like to pick up their evening paper and learn for the first time about the manager's firing the police chief. But in following such procedure, the neck manager feels that councilmen need a good jolt now and then and he seems to enjoy the technique of surprise. The neck leader can always point to the charter provision that the manager can hire and fire department heads.

The neck leader generally speaks to the press for the entire city government, including the council and the mayor. He always knows what

* Mr. Matthews, executive director of the Texas Municipal League, was formerly city manager of Lubbock and San Antonio as well as several other Texas cities. This article is based on an address by Mr. Matthews before the National Airports Conference.

the mayor and council will do and say. When he gets the council out on a limb, there is always someone standing conveniently by to saw it off.

The second type of manager is the fanny leader. The fanny manager's attitude is, "Let the mayor and council do all the thinking and all the work. If they want something, they can mention it to me and I will get the job done."

The fanny manager generally takes action on major projects and matters only at the insistence of the council. He operates the city strictly by ear. He does little advance planning and seldom anticipates problems.

This manager does only those things that people call him about. The telephone is thus a pretty good indicator of the type of manager he is and whether he is a fanny manager. At the same time, the quality of services in a city can generally be judged by the presence or absence of the telephone call.

* * *

There is yet another type of leader: the manager who leads with his shoulder. He leads through the council. He develops the management team through department heads and the council and he leads through direction. He pushes occasionally but seldom pulls, realizing that he has to stimulate action and desire in the city personnel and in the council.

Naturally, the personality of the manager usually determines the approach in leadership. While there are undoubtedly many other classes of managers, we can generally agree that most use a combination of the three types of leadership mentioned.

Shoulder leadership is by far the most desirable type, with its philosophy of working *with* people and *through* the city council.

The city council and the city manager function best as a team. The council and the manager have a joint responsibility to plan the city program and assign priorities. It is the manager's job to assist the council in evaluating needs and arriving at policy decisions. Mutual respect and confidence develop as the city's program materializes.

Strong leadership involves salesmanship. Equally important is the ability to set goals, that is, to determine the final objectives which underlie any successful program. The shoulder manager will lift the council's sights. The size of the city is not important—actually, the smaller city may require more vitality of leadership. In a larger city, the manager leads through others because he has more personnel and a better trained staff. In many respects it is thus easier to manage.

With the manager playing a large role in developing policy, decisions must be sound because the council in the end will be judged by the public on its over-all policy decisions. Indeed, in a sense, the success or failure of a city council is a definite responsibility of the manager. It is difficult for a city council to stand up and defend a city policy when it is not "saleable."

City managers spend the bulk of their time informing the public, the city staff and employees, and influential groups in the city. A basic task of the shoulder manager is, after all, to win acceptance for the council's program and goals.

A shoulder manager knows that he has to have close associations with his council. Perhaps the best means of developing such an association is through the techniques of "off-sessions" and special luncheons. One of the most difficult problems to be faced in this situation, however, is that the newspapers need to be apprised of the need of such sessions. To accept this arrangement, the manager will need to gain the support of the papers by keeping them informed as to where such sessions are held and, in all likelihood, what matters are being discussed. Caution must be used to assure that no formal action is taken at such meetings and definitely that no final decisions are made. Rather, such meetings should be used for informative purposes, where all views may be aired. Such informal meetings, with their benefits of understanding and mutual confidence, can be developed as a principal source of council harmony. The council must plan and know where it is going. Off-sessions are the only way of accomplishing this purpose.

A shoulder manager discusses major problems in advance with his council, employees and the citizens. He tries to anticipate things before they occur. He can, for instance, usually anticipate whether or not the public will accept an ordinance before it is passed. A manager can also gain a lot of good experience from other cities. An off-street parking ordinance is always difficult to pass; the churches will take the position that the city is stopping all church growth; they may even come down to a point where the manager is an infidel before it is over.

Whenever the rights of individuals

and private interests are encountered, one must anticipate a variety of stock questions. Brief the council on the answers before the private interests come in with their side. If, by anticipating the questions, the reasonable answers are ready, the battle is half won.

Most problems can be anticipated. The manager knows when a bond issue will be needed for expansion of facilities. Does everyone else? He knows when a board or particular group in the community is going to ask about certain major problems. Does he have the answers ready?

* * *

There are a number of other problems one can anticipate. For instance, on streets with a high traffic count, a congestion problem may develop because cars are piling up for a left turn. This is obviously a traffic engineering problem but it may be larger in scope if the city is forced to remove curb parking in front of business houses to gain additional traffic lanes. In one such situation, after talking with the city council about it, the manager decided not to make the change immediately. Sometimes one can be too efficient and anticipate a problem too soon. As a result, one can get ahead of the people. In this case it was decided to let the traffic stack up two or three blocks. Soon, citizens started calling to tell the city to put in left turn lanes. At times the situation must get bad before people will realize that something must be done. Then, the solution is easier to sell.

These examples may sound elementary but they do stress the im-

portance of timing. Timing has a great deal to do with public acceptance and one cannot escape the fact that in our democratic society favorable public opinion is what keeps a city council in office.

In essence, the timing of adoption and enforcement of a policy is probably one of the most difficult decisions a manager has to make. This decision is second only to the policy itself.

* * *

The underlying principle of all decision-making should be consistency of policy. But one should change the policy if he cannot follow that which he already has. This is extremely important; don't continue a policy just because it has been previously established.

Policy must be flexible. It must fit the case at hand as well as the case down the road. Good policy can be judged on this basis. Sometimes a group will make a request in regard to a specific problem. The decision rendered should be based on the idea of what will be done when similar requests are made by other groups in the future. Future needs must be anticipated so policy will remain consistent. The answer given to one group must be consistent with that given to the next group.

Other cities should be surveyed as to policy; then, a policy should be framed to fit the specific needs. Thus, the best policy is created and tailored to the situation.

Above all, policy should be based on principle instead of personality!

A manager should stay in the background—should push and lead through the council and the staff. The council is elected for its leadership. Things should be accomplished through others, avoiding differences whenever possible. It is practically axiomatic that in most council-manager differences, the manager generally comes out second and goes out first. When the manager is right, few people remember; when wrong, no one forgets. He must earn and retain the respect of the citizenry.

Ideas should be developed and shared with the council, giving them credit for good ones. The glory should be passed on to the team; there is enough for everyone. Generally, when glory is passed on to others, it is returned in abundance. And in the end credit is shared by the entire group.

A person's success and tenure always depends on how well he can develop cooperation and unity. In municipal affairs, people will not tolerate leadership that cannot get along with itself and develop "community thinking." What do people look for in their community leaders? They respect most those persons who have definite opinions but who can reason and compromise in the spirit of progress. Citizens always recognize results. They notice conflict and the lack of cooperation. They respect cooperation and unity. They expect progress and, finally, they rightly expect a spirit of optimism and cooperation among their leaders.

New Money for Cities

Finance authority urges broader sources of revenue to meet need, ease up on real estate.

By CARL H. CHATTERS*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is made up of excerpts from an address by Mr. Chatters delivered before the Annual Congress of the American Municipal Association, New York, November 29, 1960.

AMERICAN cities need more money. They are little concerned with fancy theories of tax incidence and tax equity. The cities need money from new or expanding sources that have a growing but stable yield. They want sources that cause the least discomfort to the legislative bodies which impose them. New types of local expenditures together with ballooning costs of police and fire departments, skilled workmen and welfare services make more money mandatory. Higher wage levels and higher prices would be reflected in municipal costs even though the number of employees was constant.

Cities need more money because the owners of motor cars and trucks have become the "pampered pets" of our public bodies, which consider the motorists' needs more important than others. The private economy spends \$11,117,300,000 annually in advertising to stimulate the public's desire

for material things. No further stimulus is necessary to whet the appetite for public services.

The automobile owner, the trucking industry, the P. T. A., the whole educational hierarchy, community associations, welfare workers, unions of public employees, expanding industries—all share the general desire for the better things of life—all press constantly for more public spending. No one except the public officials who have to meet the bills are concerned with raising the money to meet the costs.

The revenue problem should not be considered by itself in a vacuum but together with all aspects of the financial situation. A city's financial program should consider revenues, expenditures, debt, public works and public services as a whole. And we do need far better current and capital financial planning.

No single new or expanded revenue source will meet the needs of all cities. Nor will any single city use intensively all the revenues discussed here. Revenue needs are variable because of the size of the city, the central city's relation to its metropolitan area, the economic resources and social characteristics of the city, the basic laws under which it operates, and the limitations or opportunities provided by local tradition and local public sentiment.

Adoption of new types of revenue faces more emotional than intellec-

* Mr. Chatters, prior to his death in December 1960, was a noted authority on public finance. Until recently city controller of Chicago, he had served also as controller of the Port of New York Authority and as executive director of the American Municipal Association and of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada.

tual barriers, however. For this reason, every movement for new revenues must be backed by a carefully planned program of publicity, public hearings and patient negotiations. Some revenue sources are distasteful to one group but palatable to others. Each official knows what his community can digest.

The municipal revenue system and its master, municipal expenditures, must for the sake of equity collect from the nonresidents who make use of central city services and on whose behalf the central city builds wide thoroughfares and traffic arteries. Nonresidents depend on the central city's services. The central city gets smaller and smaller in proportion to the whole metropolitan area and yet there are more demands for its services for the entire area.

The *Wall Street Journal* stated the case well in its issue of April 6, 1959, saying: "The most hard pressed cities generally are the most populous. Their needs for funds outstrip revenues as more middle income groups flee to suburbs, subtracting from their cities' tax base by leaving them to supply as many essential services and often more welfare payments for the remaining residents. Meanwhile, property valuations which partly determine property tax revenues—the cities' chief source of income—have not kept pace with population growth."

As Charles F. LeeDecker, executive director of the Pennsylvania Association of Boroughs, said a few years ago, "The growing suburban population increases expenditures of the central city, while the main growth of taxable resources occurs outside the city limits."

Municipalities can levy taxes on only four bases: property, income, sales and privileges.

Amusement and Admissions Taxes.

These taxes are ideal for local use. They are easily administered. The tax also recaptures for taxpayers as a whole the expense of special services such as police, fire, traffic and health which must be rendered where large numbers of persons congregate. The tax reaches residents and nonresidents, single persons who pay little local tax and other persons who pay little income tax. The tax ranges from 2 per cent to 10 per cent on admissions. The tax is levied on movies, theaters, baseball, football, hockey, boxing, etc.

* * *

Tax on Transient Hotel Rooms.

This tax is used by a limited number of cities, including New York; Washington, D. C.; Providence, Rhode Island; Atlantic City, New Jersey, and several other resort cities; and Grand Rapids, Michigan. The tax varies from 3 to 5 per cent. It is always passed on directly to the taxpayer who is usually a nonresident on a business expense account. It is not a large revenue producer but it is easy to administer and is a good tax for large and medium sized cities.

Public Utility Franchise and Excise Taxes. Utility franchise or excise taxes are widely used by cities in at least 35 states. Some cities such as Chicago collect both franchise and excise taxes for a total approximating 5 per cent of the utilities' gross revenue. In some states the state government has preempted the tax. New York State,

however, has given its cities the right to levy a 1 per cent tax on gross income of utilities. It appears that cities generally are not receiving as much revenue as they might from privately owned utilities considering the amount invested, the utility income, the use of city streets and the granting of a monopoly franchise.

Per Capita State Grants. New York State is unique in giving its cities, towns and villages unrestricted per capita grants from state general funds. These grants were intended to be a balancing and stabilizing factor for municipal revenues in the years following World War II. They became effective April 1, 1946. The per capita grants replaced certain locally shared, state-collected taxes which tended to decrease just when more money was needed locally. Only a state with a good tax system and good tax administration can make such grants.

Business License Taxes Based on Gross Receipts. Business license taxes are used universally by American cities. To some, such as Birmingham, Alabama, and Seattle, Washington, business license taxes or business receipts taxes are a substantial source of income. Where the tax is to be productive it must be based on the volume and nature of the business taxed. Some cities tax wholesalers at a low rate—say 1/20 of 1 per cent—and retailers at twice that rate on gross sales. The tax is absorbed by the business. The tax has the merit of easy local administration and response to inflationary prices.

Municipal Motor Vehicle and Motor Fuel Taxes. Unless a city uses one or both of these, motorists contribute directly for street purposes only the personal property tax on their automobiles and then only part of that tax. The increasing costs of highways, parking, traffic signals, traffic engineering and traffic police all warrant taxation of the motorist for the services, facilities and protection he requires and receives. While the states collect the revenues only a few cities share them directly with the state. Even then the amounts returned to the city are not proportioned to the amount collected in a given city. Local motor fuel taxes raise money from nonresidents as well as residents provided the taxes are not avoided through purchases outside the city. State-collected motor fuel taxes, collected for the cities and returned to them as a right and not as a state-controlled dole, would make an acceptable local revenue.

* * *

Municipal Cigarette and Tobacco Taxes. Substantial revenues from cigarette and tobacco taxes are realized by relatively few cities. The tax would be used best as a local supplement to a state-collected tax.

Summary. In 1949, Emory Glander, then state tax commissioner of Ohio, in an address before the American Municipal Association about the local income tax, sales tax, gross receipts tax, tobacco tax and other new local taxes, concluded: "These nonproperty tax revenues, in most if not all instances, provide a complete solution to the so-called financial plight of the cities. Any municipi-

pality having a serious revenue problem may solve that problem without state help by enacting such taxes locally."

The Property Tax. No movement for adequate municipal revenue or for tax equity is complete until the assessed valuations of local property are equitable and are assessed on a full legal basis. The property tax is still the most stable tax for cities generally. It is the flexible item used to balance the revenue not available from other sources.

* * *

Local Sales Tax. The retail sales tax levied directly by a city or collected for it by a state has become a major source of revenue. Except in a large or well isolated city, the tax works best where it is imposed by local action and administered by the state.

Many arguments may be presented both for and against the municipal retail sales tax. Those more frequently given against the tax are as follows:

1. The tax is claimed to be regressive, that is, it takes a higher percentage of the income from persons in the low income group than from persons with higher incomes.

2. The tax loses part of its effectiveness in a city surrounded by competing retail sellers. Opposition comes primarily from retail establishments on the borders of the city or from large retail stores in competition with large suburban shopping centers.

3. Exemptions from the sales tax are desirable but difficult to administer.

4. There may be a conflict of

taxation between a general sales tax and special sales taxes levied at higher rates on such commodities as cigarettes, liquor and gasoline.

Arguments in favor of a sales tax are:

1. The yield is high and opposition is less violent than to the local income tax.

2. The local sales tax supplements state and federal income taxes by obtaining revenue from those who are not ordinarily subject to any great extent to the federal income tax.

3. The tax can be administered at a relatively low cost and is relatively stable. When collected by the state for municipalities, ease of administration is even greater.

4. While the local income tax brings a conflict between municipalities over the liability of a taxpayer, the sales tax avoids such conflict.

Except for New York City, New Orleans, Erie County (New York), and a few other cities mostly in isolated positions, the local sales tax is best administered by the state provided there is a statewide sales tax and provided further that the municipalities have the right of inspection and audit of the state's records. State collection provides convenience, maximum return and low-cost administration. The use tax should supplement the sales tax particularly where there is a state-administered sales tax plan.

A Local Tax on Income. The local tax based on income is exemplified by Philadelphia's income tax and Louisville's occupational tax. Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Columbus and Toledo

tax the wages, salaries and other earned income of individuals residing in the taxing unit wherever such income is earned and regardless of the source of origin, while nonresidents are taxed only on the income earned within the taxing city.

According to Professor John F. Sly of Princeton University, "A local income tax is based on the theory that gross earnings of individuals are a competent measure of taxpaying ability in the sense that the taxpayer pays when he earns and does not pay when he does not earn." The tax is most commonly a low, flat rate tax without exemptions or deductions. Since the tax is on earned income, it excludes items such as dividends, interest and rents. In no case to date is the payroll tax collected by the state for the municipality.

One criticism of the local income tax is that it overlaps federal and sometimes state income taxes. This, however, is mitigated by the deduction of the local tax from the state tax base and local and state taxes from the federal tax base. If a local income tax is designed to permit exemptions and deductions, then it would be highly desirable for such taxes to have the same base as the related state income tax or the federal income tax structure.

There are objections to the local income tax:

1. There are no exemptions or deductions from earned income. Since there is no personal exemption and the tax is at a flat rate, there is no progressive taxation.

2. The tax does not apply to income from ownership of property.

3. It is argued that the tax based on income is unstable in yield. While this argument might hold good with respect to federal and state income taxes, it has far less validity when applied to city taxes because the latter provide no personal or other exemptions.

4. Income is heavily taxed by the federal government and by 38 states.

5. Cities should not have the right to tax nonresidents.

Arguments for the tax are:

1. The tax reaches nonresidents as well as residents.

2. The yield is relatively high.

3. The yield increases with inflation and with growth of population.

4. The tax supplements rather than duplicates taxes on property.

5. It is comparatively easy to administer.

* * *

The municipal income tax appears to be best adapted for large cities with competent administrative staffs. The large industries can easily handle the withholding which is an essential part of the successful administration of the tax.

It does not appear desirable to permit local income taxes by small jurisdictions or by local school districts. If an ideal arrangement could be made for the cities, it would take the form of a local supplement to a state or federal income tax to be collected by the state or federal government on behalf of the municipality just as the sales tax is collected in California and Illinois. To some extent a state-collected, locally-

shared income tax is enjoyed by the local governments of Wisconsin, where the incorporated municipalities receive 50 per cent and the counties 10 per cent of the state-collected income tax paid by their residents and businesses.

No city to date has both the local income tax and the local sales tax.

The Pricing System. Many public services must be carried on regardless of who pays for them. Most of these are social or welfare services or activities for the protection of the entire city such as the police and fire departments. But many activities of our cities are really subsidized in whole or in part by the taxpayers at large. Some services for instance are used either by relatively few persons or by both residents and nonresidents.

Chicago operates a lakefront airport, Meigs Field. It is used exclusively by private planes and is probably one of the 25 busiest airports in the United States. It occupies some of the city's most valuable lakefront property. Five minutes is required to get to the city's center from Meigs. Yet in 1959 Chicago spent \$153,630 just to operate and maintain this airport from which it collected only \$82,110 in fees. The costs do not include any return on the city's investment nor provision for getting back \$500,000 which the city appropriated for capital expenditures in 1960. Why should not the owners of private planes pay the full economic cost of landing there?

Here are other examples. Various city inspection fees should cover the costs of such activities as boiler, elevator, plumbing, electrical, heating and refrigerating inspections

and some health department inspections. In Chicago in 1960, for example, the city budgeted expenditures of \$331,275 for the department of weights and measures with revenues of only \$130,000. This service is rendered to a relatively few businesses and the costs should be covered by the revenue.

Police and fire services are furnished for profitmaking exhibitions such as theaters, prize fights, baseball games and circuses. Excepting the cost of protecting the public at large, the enterprises should pay the full cost of special services. Fire departments in many areas furnish fire protection outside their cities and charge only when alarms are answered. Such properties, when they receive year-round protection, should pay an annual charge based on the value of property protected and at a rate the same as city residents pay.

* * *

Cities can no longer be content to balance their budgets annually by increasing property taxes. New revenues must be found; older revenue sources should be reviewed and strengthened and made more equitable. Persons receiving some public services without charge or at less than cost should pay full costs. Worthwhile adjustments can be made in fees and service charges. Licenses can be more productive. Admission, cigarette, hotel and utility taxes offer substantial yields. The really large tax sources, in addition to a better administered property tax, are business licenses based on volume, application of the pricing system, local income or payroll taxes and local sales taxes.

Metro and Little Places

Changes are foreseen in the future role of smaller units in developing urban consensus.

By GEORGE H. DEMING*

THERE is implicit in a discussion of the role of local government the idea that local governments are necessary components of the governmental pattern of the urban area and that there is a role for the small unit even though it may be quite different from the one it has played in the past.

Those who live in New York's suburbia are increasingly concerned with the role which smaller communities and local governments can successfully play in the great metropolitan community, which extends over parts of three states. There is a growing realization that there is no single answer and that the suburb and the central city will be faced always with the necessity of forging new answers to new questions arising from new or intensified pressures developing in the greater community. Prominent among these pressures is popular concern with the nature of government and its growth in the metropolitan area.

The following assessment of the role of government in the urban

area is based on the fundamental premise that we are, or ought to be, working toward the goal of a reasonable and adequate system of government for the urban or metropolitan area—one capable of being financially supported on an equitable basis by the area's inhabitants, one able to provide throughout the area the public services and facilities required for a decent standard of community life, and one consistent with the American tradition of representative government and exercise of popular responsibility through fairly determined community consensus. One further qualification is that our system of urban government be capable of growing institutionally as the urban community itself develops.

In the light of this premise, let us assess the role of local government from these vantage points: The role of local governments (1) as corporate citizens of the metropolitan area, (2) as service agencies, and (3) with respect to regional planning.

1. *The Local Government, A Corporate Citizen*

There has been considerable discussion in recent years concerning the place of the private corporation in American life. Andrew Hacker, in a paper written three years ago,¹

* Mr. Deming, director of the Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems, was formerly a senior staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers. This article is an abridgement of a paper presented before the Tenth Annual Planning and Zoning Conference of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, March 24, 1960. The assistance of Mrs. Anne-Marie Walsh, editorial assistant, Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems, in preparing the abridgement is gratefully acknowledged.

¹ *Politics and the Corporation*, Fund for the Republic, New York, 1958.

drew an alarming picture of the series of "private corporation communities" which are becoming, in his view, the primary focus of allegiance of a large segment of the middle class, a development which the author suggested boded no good for the future health of the democratic civil community. Thomas R. Reid, of the Ford Motor Company, has drawn a different image of the large corporation, that of a "citizen" of the civil community, which can exert creative influence in the community and encourage participation in local affairs.

* * *

Consider the unit of local government as a corporate being with status of a citizen of the urban community, for in the images sketched by Mr. Hacker and Mr. Reid are raised clues to at least one phase of the role the local government now plays and will play in the future.

Like any corporate body, the unit of local government has the potential to be a good, mediocre or indifferent citizen of the urban community of which it is a member. Like the natural citizen, it may take part in policy-making processes of the greater community or it may choose not to do so. Similarly it may have an excellent influence for community good, or a negative one upon its employees, the people it serves and the other local governments in the area. But, whatever role the local government as a corporate being chooses to play, it cannot stand still nor can it be freed from the environmental factors of the urban area in which it is located.

That the individual unit of government, however, can do much to

condition the community environment is evident in every urban center. The ability of the individual government to affect area conditions extends along two broad fronts, its action within its own jurisdiction and its action as a member of the family of governments of the metropolitan area.

Many of our local governments have their origins in a distant past when self-centeredness was necessary for survival and when they were geographically and economically independent. For over 50 years, however, physical and economic circumstances have made it difficult, if not foolhardy, to be self-centered in the urban community.

With economic and employment patterns which know no municipal boundaries, with the growing need to use an area's natural resources for the benefit of the entire urban community, it becomes increasingly imperative that individual communities and their governments make common cause with each other. There is a growing tendency among local officials to desire better communications and a sharing of experience among their number. In such contacts lies the basis for common understanding of common problems. In years ahead, officials of every local government will need and want to remain in close contact with other local units of their urban community. In fact, I predict that the day will come when every municipality of consequence will employ an individual whose major concern is intercommunity relationships.

While good relationships with our neighbors are characteristic of good citizenship, the task does not stop

there. Experience in my own community convinces me that we have a long way to go in bringing an understanding of the urban community to our local citizens. And it is in the hard school of experience that our townspeople are beginning to learn that a town does not live alone these days but is affected by its neighbor's zoning laws and land use patterns. And certain it is that all of us in Connecticut are concerned with New York's metropolitan transportation problem. The furthering of local community understanding of the interdependence of municipalities in the urban area is another act of good corporate citizenship.

There is still a third area that demands our attention. The point has been made that, in our state legislatures and in Washington, thinking on urban problems is primarily in terms of the municipality, county or special district, rather than of the total metropolitan area. Politically, the metropolitan area is a nonentity in most instances. Whether this condition continues depends to a large degree upon whether we as local officials are willing to assume political responsibility for the metropolitan area and to make a collective point of view known in state and national councils.

* * *

2. *Local Government as a Service Agency*

Much of what has been said thus far recognizes the existing pattern of government and the consequences which flow from it. When we speak in terms of services for metropolitan areas with rapidly growing populations, we are dealing with a division of labor among often hundreds of

units of government. The issue is clouded by the fact that we have by and large managed our day-to-day housekeeping and met the immediate needs, which might be taken to indicate that we can continue in similar fashion. We may wonder, however, as with the long delayed effects of a mild case of polio in a child, how soon it will be before we pass the limits of toleration.

We are already perplexed and frustrated by the difficulties of financing necessary projects in the given community despite the considered judgment of responsible economists that there is generally sufficient wealth within the broad urban community to meet the cost of services and facilities needed.

And there is a growing consensus that some services necessary to metropolitan living simply cannot be provided by the smaller units of government acting alone because of such factors as the intercommunity nature of the service, the size of the capital investment required and the location of natural resources. Most of us would agree that intra-urban transportation falls in this category; similarly, in many urban centers sufficient water supply is no longer available to the single community at reasonable cost.

From imagining the sort of governmental structure we would develop if we could do the job over again—having the advantage of hindsight—can come clues for the resolution of our present problems.

First, we ought to encourage the preservation of natural or present communities, vesting in them the power necessary to perform those functions which can appropriately

be performed by such a unit. In determining appropriate functions, we should be guided among other factors by desirable service area concepts. For example, for many functions, including welfare administration, highway units and health agencies, a base of 20,000-30,000 people is necessary to achieve the economies of techniques which can be used only in the larger community. In 1950, however, there were approximately 3,000 cities in metropolitan areas with populations of less than 20,000 (which contained about nine million people).

In some instances the economies of optimum size can be resolved in part by use of contractual services; in others, by intermunicipal compacts for joint operation. And in some cases local government may find its appropriate role as a retailer, particularly with respect to water supply and to types of regulatory services requiring laboratory techniques beyond the ability of the local community. It is certain that today's conditions warrant on the part of all of us an attitude of careful analysis directed toward sound definitions of those functions which can be done well locally and a sympathetic acknowledgment of those functions which can be provided more efficiently and economically by other means.

Those having experience with day-by-day local government know that this is a difficult procedure technically; but it is infinitely more difficult politically to face up to some of the resultant answers. It is an inevitable, if also sobering, conclusion that, while we can retain many of our present units of government, the in-

terests of good organization and economy will require that some governmental jurisdictions be given up—that consolidations take place. In other cases it will be necessary for present jurisdictions to absorb areas now deficient in service facilities.

From recognition of the need for realignment and re-evaluation of our present local governments comes the realization that we shall, sooner or later, recognize the need for a general purpose metropolitan jurisdiction with boundaries approximating those of the urban area and with power to perform area-wide functions and services. Here ultimately may be located the responsibility for area-wide planning, water supply, police protection, education, recreation, and health and welfare administration. In some instances, a series of highly organized urban county governments may provide an alternative answer but even then there will remain a need for area-wide planning and policy guidance.

* * *

3. *Local Government and Regional Planning*

In the past fifteen years, circumstances have made it mandatory that we think of regional planning in a new and broadened frame of reference. We no longer think of planning as essentially an exercise in programming of land use and a concern with zoning laws, subdivision control, location of public facilities and the like. Regional planning in today's urban world not only encompasses land use and all the related aspects of physical planning but also extends to assessment of regional economic factors, sociological condi-

tions, intergovernmental relations, social structure and the bearing which these elements have on the community's future. In fact, I would say that planning encompasses the entire range of governmental activities in the metropolitan area.

With regard to the place of the planning function in governmental structure, while acknowledging a considerable range of opinion across the nation, most agree the planning agency is chiefly a staff agency whose primary mission is providing assistance, counsel, advice, information, proposals and the like to the government or governments which it serves.

It follows that much of the work of a regional planning agency must be concerned with the promotion of effective cooperation and communication with the governmental agencies it serves. In the days to come, the promotion of planning activities will become increasingly important and a major part of the regional planning agency's activities may well be concerned with establishing successful communication not only between the agency and the public and governments served but also among the governments themselves. The regional planning agency under our present pattern of local government can serve a most important function in paving the way for intergovernmental cooperation and coordination which will be one of the significant phases of the long period of evolution which lies ahead of us.

If a regional planning agency is to be a successful advisory agency, it follows that rather uncommon responsibilities come to rest with the officials of local governments involved, for in their hands rest the

decisions of whether the regional agency's work can be truly effective. And, because local officials are by nature transient, a major challenge is evoking a sustained willingness on the part of all to work with a regional planning agency in the development of area-wide and local programs that are acceptable. Regional planning is not a one-way street; it can be successful only if the local official finds it to his best interest to cooperate with the technician.

* * *

These remarks have been focused on the role of local governments and their officials in the building of optimum urban environment. It is good that we can be critical of organization and procedures in a positive way, but we must bear in mind that our present pattern of government and services came into being as a result of political decision—the considered judgment of organized groups and individuals—and is kept in operation by political decisions. As politicians and moulders of public policy, we ought to realize that functional changes, the casting off of outmoded responsibilities and the creation of new governmental units must come through political decision and in no other way. Veterans of political office have sometimes charged that the changes which we must make in metropolitan organization cannot come through the normal political channel nor can we expect our present major party organizations to deal effectively with the metropolis. I believe that the changes can come through the organized political party and that we can, politically, cement the breaches that seem to divide us.

(Continued on page 317)

News in Review

City, State and Nation

H. M. Olmsted, Editor

Amendment Mills Keep Producing

Lawmakers, People Pass
On Constitutional Changes

STATE legislatures and the electorate continue to deal with constitutional amendments. Wisconsin voters in April passed upon six amendments submitted to them by the legislature. The legislatures of various other states, including Massachusetts, Connecticut, Montana, New Mexico, Utah and Pennsylvania, have approved a number of proposed amendments, to be acted upon by the people later. The Indiana legislature gave initial approval to an amendment to remove the present limitation on county sheriff's terms, whereby a sheriff may not serve more than eight years in any twelve-year period. This must also be acted upon by the 1963 legislature. In Oregon the House of Representatives rejected by a vote of 34-25 in April a proposed amendment to lower the voting age from 21 to eighteen years.

Wisconsin

Six proposed amendments to the Wisconsin constitution were submitted to the voters of that state on April 4, after having been passed by the 1959 and 1961 legislatures. Four were approved, one was defeated by a substantial majority and another by a narrow margin.

One of the successful amendments removes the constitutional requirement that jury verdicts of necessity must be obtained before private property can be taken for public improvement projects by a city or village. This requirement, not applicable to other governmental units, has been a deterrent to urban re-

newal and redevelopment programs, especially in Milwaukee and Madison.

Another amendment authorizes the legislature to provide for continuity of civil government in case of enemy attack, with particular reference to provisions for succession to state and local government offices.

The legislature is authorized to provide for a different level of taxation of merchants' and manufacturers' inventories and of livestock than for other personal property or real estate.

A fourth amendment increases the debt limit for certain school districts. It permits school districts that offer twelve grades and are eligible for the highest level of school aids to incur debt up to 10 per cent of the equalized value of property in such districts. School districts now have a 5 per cent debt limit.

Removal of the existing limitation on the number of terms a sheriff may serve was prevented by a substantial margin of votes.

A proposal to authorize the legislature to increase the salaries of elected and appointed state officers (not including legislators) with terms of four or more years, during their current terms, was narrowly defeated.

According to the *Milwaukee Journal* the results of the election bring to 67 the number of constitutional amendments approved as against 34 rejections. The constitution was originally adopted in 1848.

Massachusetts

A joint session of the two houses of the Massachusetts legislature was held April 12 to consider proposed constitutional amendments remaining from those dealt with at a joint session on March 29. At the latter session four constitutional changes were approved—one for the sec-

ond time, thus allowing it to go to popular vote. (See the REVIEW, May, page 253.) The April 12 session approved only one proposal, to set a six-months limit on legislative sessions, which will be required to end by July 1. This was passed for the first time. The vote was 162-93.

A proposal to require a two-thirds vote of the legislature on bills dealing with local matters lost on a tie vote. One to require a two-thirds vote on municipal finance measures lost by a vote of 135 to 96. Other losing proposals were one for a dual system of assessing commercial and residential property for taxation, one to repeal a 1948 prohibition on diversion of highway funds, two providing four-year terms for members of the Governor's Council, and one providing for continuity of state government in case of enemy attack. As to the last, it was asserted by opponents that existing provisions for succession to state offices are adequate.

Connecticut

The Connecticut legislature has approved an amendment to provide for the election of the governor and lieutenant governor "as a unit." The name of no candidate for either office nominated by a political party or by petition "shall appear on the voting machine ballot labels except in conjunction with the name of the candidate for the other office." The amendment was first adopted in 1959 by a majority of the House of Representatives, followed by approval of two thirds of each house at the 1961 session. It now goes to the voters for their approval at the November 1961 election.

Montana

The Montana legislature has referred two proposed constitutional amendments to the voters. One would eliminate the constitutional status of justice-of-the-peace courts, thus permitting their reorganization by the legislature; the

other would increase terms of county attorneys from two years to four.

New Mexico

Several proposed amendments to the constitution were approved by the New Mexico legislature at its biennial session, which ended in March, for submission to popular vote. These are reported by *State Government News* to include measures to establish four-year terms for elected state and county officials and annual sessions of the legislature, and to permit the latter to prescribe its own salaries.

Another proposed amendment would dissolve the Public Service Commission and transfer its functions to the State Corporation Commission, whose members would be appointed by the governor instead of being elected as at present.

An additional proposal would remove the state auditor from the list of elected state officials and make him an appointee of the legislature, to check on the use of appropriations.

Legislators would be permitted by another proposal to serve on the State Finance Board, the Board of Educational Finance and the proposed new Public School Finance Board.

Among legislative measures adopted was a series of laws designed to effect firmer state control over fiscal operations of the justices of the peace. These were a result of a legislative interim judicial study.

Utah

Two proposed constitutional amendments were passed by the Utah legislature, subject to voter approval. One permits increases in legislative salaries from \$500 to \$1,200 a year and in expense payments from \$5 to \$10 a day. The other would prohibit diversion of motor vehicle user taxes to nonhighway purposes.

Laws were passed to raise salaries of

state officials and judges, including the following: governor from \$12,000 to \$13,500, secretary of state from \$9,400 to \$10,500, attorney general from \$10,000 to \$11,000, treasurer and auditor \$7,000 to \$8,000. Salaries of supreme and district court judges were raised to \$13,200 and \$11,000 respectively.

Pennsylvania

The state legislature of Pennsylvania has approved a proposed constitutional amendment to make the governor (except the present one) eligible to succeed himself for one additional term. The amendment will be submitted to popular referendum at the November 1961 election.

Indiana Makes Administrative Changes

Several state agencies in Indiana were dealt with in statutes adopted by the legislature, requiring major administrative reorganization, according to *Public Affairs Notes*, published by the Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University, in which they are reviewed by Barbara B. Howard.

The most sweeping of the statutes created a new Department of Administration into which a number of previously separate functions were consolidated. Generally, the new department will be responsible for: (1) purchasing, (2) property maintenance, (3) travel authorization, (4) surety and performance bonding of officials, (5) construction of public works, and (6) central services, e.g., duplicating, printing, machine tabulation, data processing, records management, motor pool, mail services and supplementary secretarial assistance.

In addition, the administrative functions formerly under the jurisdiction of the Personnel Bureau were transferred to the new department and enlarged. The Personnel Board will continue to exercise all its powers and duties (ex-

cept administrative) with respect to the merit system and cooperation with the Department of Administration is mandated. Finally, the department may conduct management surveys. The commissioner of the department will be appointed by and responsible to the governor.

A second statute altered the structure of the State Budget Division and the State Budget Committee, which had been the subject of legal challenge because the committee was composed of both administrative and legislative officials. The charge was made that this structure violated constitutional separation of executive and legislative powers. To correct the situation, the new law creates an administrative Budget Agency (generally similar to the former Budget Division) and a revised Budget Committee. This committee will be composed of the director of the Budget Agency and a Legislative Division of four members of the General Assembly. Under the new arrangement, the budget preparation and execution (allocation) functions will be separate, with the Legislative Division of the Budget Committee to participate in the former in an advisory capacity.

A third law gave a new function to the Budget Agency by creating a Department of Central Data Processing within it, for which approximately \$655,000 was appropriated. Chief functions of the new department, to be staffed on a bipartisan basis, will be the centralization of statistical services and data processing and the review of all machine tabulating and computer installations.

Other major reorganizational enactments concerned the State Highway Department, the State Health Department and the Department of Corrections. The former three-member Highway Commission was replaced by a four-man bipartisan commission to serve on a part-time basis in a policy-making capacity. Administrative direction of the state's highway programs will be under a full-

time executive director appointed by the governor. The executive director and the chiefs of four major operating divisions are required to be registered professional engineers.

In the State Health Department the Division of Mental Health has been raised to departmental status. It will continue to have responsibility for administration of the state's mental health hospitals and the section on alcoholism. Two new divisions were created, one for child mental health and one for mental retardation. The new department will be under a single commissioner who will be assisted by an advisory council. One of the chief responsibilities of the latter is the selection of the commissioner and the deputy commissioner with the governor's approval. The legislation places heavy emphasis on professional qualifications and experience and an elaborate system of advisory councils and committees is provided.

The Department of Corrections has been reorganized by a statute under which a single commissioner of corrections, appointed by the governor for a four-year term, will administer the department, with divisions of probation, prison industries and farms, and classification and treatment, and also the parole board. The latter board, composed of three full-time members appointed by the commissioner with the governor's approval, replaces three former part-time boards for the state prison, the reformatory and the boys' school.

Establishment of a Youth Rehabilitation Facility, under the Department of Corrections, has been provided for; it will comprise either a permanent work camp or a mobile camp for young offenders. A new intermediate institution for young male first offenders, to be called the Indiana Youth Center, has also been provided. It will include a reception and diagnostic center.

Among other major enactments affecting state administration, other than struc-

tural reorganization, was one which increased the salaries of elected state officials. The new salary schedule for elected officials is as follows: governor \$25,000 a year (from \$15,000), plus \$6,000 for expenses of the office and maintenance of the governor's mansion; attorney general and superintendent of public instruction \$18,000 (from \$11,500); lieutenant governor, secretary of state, auditor of state and treasurer of state \$16,500 (from \$11,500); and clerk and reporter of the Supreme and Appellate Courts \$9,000 (from \$7,500). The increases will not become effective until the end of the present terms of these officials.

Organization Changes Proposed in Nebraska

The Nebraska Legislative Council's Committee on State Government Reorganization, authorized by the 1959 legislature to study the executive branch, has submitted its report and recommendations to the legislature. These include a proposal that the administration and collection of the motor vehicle fuels tax, special fuels tax, cigarette tax and severance tax be transferred from the Department of Agriculture and Inspection to the State Tax Commissioner. Other recommendations, according to the Council of State Governments, are establishment of a central data-processing department, enactment of a records management act and creation of a State Financial Board charged with investment of state retirement funds, temporary reserve funds and current state operating funds.

The committee urged the legislature to consider continuation of the study.

Wyoming Establishes Legislative Council

At its recently adjourned biennial session the Wyoming legislature set up a sixteen-member permanent Legislative Council. It consists of eight senators and

eight members of the House of Representatives. The legislature assigned seven research projects to it for the biennium and appropriated \$100,000 to its use.

Functions of the council include collecting information concerning the government and general welfare of the state; examining the effects of previously enacted statutes and recommending amendments thereto; studying issues of public policy and questions of statewide interest; and preparing a legislative program in the form of bills, resolutions and reports.

It is charged specifically with studying the highway laws including highway safety, the employment security law with emphasis on labor-management relations, the state school foundation program, game and fish laws, workmen's compensation laws, water resources and liquor laws.

Suit Assails New York Legislative Apportionment

The basis of apportionment of the New York State legislature is asserted to be in violation of the United States constitution in a suit filed on May 1 in the federal court for the southern district of New York. Radio station WMCA and six individuals, residents of New York City and of nearby Nassau and Suffolk Counties brought the action against various state, county and New York City officials.

The suit is said to be inspired by the Tennessee apportionment case¹ now before the U. S. Supreme Court, but has one outstanding difference. In the Tennessee case the legislature's failure to apportion as called for by the state constitution was a basic issue, whereas the New York suit attacks the constitution of that state as prescribing methods of

apportionment that deny citizens the equal protection of the laws, in violation of the federal constitution. (In the Tennessee case the U. S. Supreme Court on May 1 ordered reargument in October.)

As to the Assembly, the lower legislative house, the state constitution allots at least one member to every county, with one exception (Hamilton and Fulton Counties are combined). The 15,044 people in Schuyler County have one assemblyman whereas the average per assemblyman in Bronx County is about 115,000. As to Senate districts, which are supposed to be of equal population with certain restrictions, the members from New York City represent an average of about 299,000 each, while the senator from the 50th district, comprised of five upstate counties, represents only 175,712. In general the present apportionment and its constitutional basis discriminate against urban dwellers in favor of the rural areas.

Attacks on Tennessee's Annexation Law Defeated

Safeguarding Tennessee's 1955 annexation law, with its assurance that urban growth can proceed in an orderly, efficient manner, has been called the outstanding municipal victory of the 1961 legislative session by *Tennessee Town and City*, organ of the Tennessee Municipal League.

An attempt to cripple the annexation-by-ordinance authority in the 1955 law by requiring referendum approval of annexation was soundly beaten in the Senate. Lieutenant Governor William D. Baird, former president of the Tennessee Municipal League, went to the Senate floor to favor a motion to send the bill back to the steering committee—in effect, killing it. The motion carried by an overwhelming voice vote.

One effect of this bill would have been to nullify all annexation then in process or in the courts, according to *Tennessee*

¹ *Baker v. Carr*; see the REVIEW, May 1961, page 256, and earlier references cited there.

Town and City, which goes on to say, "Before the decisive vote was taken the State Supreme Court ruled in favor of the city of Nashville in one of these pending annexations—probably the largest in the state's history. It added some 80,000 people and 42 square miles to Nashville."

Two league-endorsed amendments to the annexation law were adopted. One requires a city to adopt a plan to serve annexed areas of more than one-fourth square mile or 500 people; the other requires a city to prove that annexation of "substantial industrial plant development" is not unreasonable. Cities are prohibited from annexing industrial plants for the sole purpose of increasing revenues without the intent and ability to provide services when and as needed.

Flank Attacks Made on Oklahoma Merit System

The National Civil Service League reports that opponents of Oklahoma's 1959 merit system act, unsuccessful in the courts, have attacked the system in the legislature by means of riders to departmental appropriation bills. These riders take all employees of such departments out of the merit system, and by legislation prevent use of departmental funds for merit system administration. The governor, however, announced his intention to veto all such bills coming to him. About 12,000 of the state's 20,000 employees are reported to be under the system.

N. C. Officials Make Winston-Salem Tour En Masse

Governor Terry Sanford and other North Carolina state officers, together with the entire legislature, including wives and staff members, visited Winston-Salem on April 29 and made a tour of the new Weeks Division of the Hanes Hosiery Mills Company. This company has participated in the benefits of cor-

porate tax liberalization adopted by the legislature in 1959.

The visit to the new fifteen-acre air-conditioned plant was part of an unusual civic program sponsored by the Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce to promote understanding between the legislative body, local industry, school children and their parents. The program included a session of both bodies of the legislature at the local Coliseum, attended by more than 7,000, including local school children.

Penna. Municipal Officials Hold Washington Conference

Representatives from Pennsylvania municipalities journeyed to the national capital in March for their Fifth Annual Washington Legislative Conference, held in conjunction with Pennsylvania's two senators and sixteen of its representatives. The 1961 federal legislative program of the state's League of Cities, Association of Boroughs and Association of Township Commissioners was presented and discussed. This deals with urban redevelopment, distressed areas, public works, highways, water and other matters.

Public Employment Continues to Increase

The number of civilian public employees in the United States increased by 321,000 from October 1959 to October 1960, to a total of 8.8 million, according to the Bureau of the Census.¹ The increase was almost entirely accounted for by state and local governments, which had nearly 6.4 million employees in October 1960 as against 6.1 million in October 1959. The number of federal civilian employees remained practically unchanged at 2.4 million.

¹ *State Distribution of Public Employment in 1960*, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1961.

Public payrolls for the month of October 1960 totaled more than \$3.3 billion, or about \$218 million more than for October 1959. The federal government portion, amounting to about \$1.1 billion, was only slightly higher but payrolls of state and local governments were up 8 per cent, to more than \$2.2 billion for October 1960.

In the nine years during which such October statistics have been annually available, employment of state and local governments (on a full-time equivalent basis) rose altogether by a little over 46 per cent and October payrolls more than doubled. The rate of increase was somewhat greater for the education component than for other functions as a whole, so that this major function accounted for 45 per cent of all employment of state and local governments in October 1960 as compared with a little over 41 per cent in October 1951.

Municipal governments made salary and wage payments for October 1960 amounting to \$583 million.² This sum represented payrolls for 1,692,000 employees—1,399,000 of them engaged on a full-time basis and 293,000 part-time. The latter were equivalent, on a pay-rate basis, to about 48,000 full-time employees; thus total municipal employment in October 1960 on a full-time equivalent basis was about 1,447,000, which is 2.9 per cent greater than in October 1959. Payrolls were up 6.5 per cent.

Minnesota Festival Further Government Careers

Some 8,000 students attended a Government Careers Festival held at the University of Minnesota (in Minneapolis) in January under the sponsorship of the Ninth U. S. Civil Service Region (headquarters, St. Louis, Missouri). Twenty-six federal agencies and the state govern-

ments of Minnesota and Wisconsin furnished displays or were otherwise represented. Federal examination announcements were distributed and over 100 applications for examinations were taken.

Plans are under way for a more extended program next year that will include municipal governments as well as additional federal agencies and state governments.

Reform of Election Procedure Proposed in Pennsylvania

A special committee of the Pennsylvania Senate, created in June 1960 to investigate charges of election frauds in Philadelphia, rendered its final report to the Senate in April 1961. It concluded that election irregularities had occurred and proposed remedial legislation.

In the matter of selecting division or district election officials it noted that, whereas the Pennsylvania constitution prescribes election for these, no large city elsewhere elects them, and election leads to control of such officials by the dominant party. The committee proposed that the constitution be amended to give the legislature authority to prescribe the method of selection. It suggested that the political parties supply lists to the county board of elections, which would give a simple qualifying test and make appointments from both parties to serve in election districts where needed.

A present requirement that watchers must be residents of the election district in which they live was considered too restrictive. It was recommended that they be required merely to be qualified registered voters of the township, borough or city; also that the present ceiling of \$10 as pay for watchers be raised to \$25.

It was recommended that Philadelphia, upon ratification by the voters, be empowered by the legislature to consolidate the registration commission, appointed

² *City Employment in 1960*, February 23, 1961.

by the governor to administer the permanent registration law in Philadelphia County, with the city board of elections, which supervises all other election machinery.

A final recommendation was appointment by the governor of a bipartisan commission to study the election laws, consider proposals for improvement and investigate practices elsewhere. In this connection the committee concedes, "Some of the proposals of the National Municipal League, while in some cases seemingly extreme, after careful study might prove to have merit."

Credential Cards Used In Town Meeting

Difficulties in separating voters from nonvoters and in counting votes in the traditional open type of New England town meeting have led the town of Wilbraham, Massachusetts, to issue "voter credential cards" to qualified voters as they enter the meeting hall. Wilbraham has grown from 4,003 in 1950 to 7,387 in 1960, making the problem greater.

Nonvoters are requested to sit in a special section of the hall. Voters hold the cards up when voting and they are counted by tellers.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

BELLEVIEW, NEW JERSEY, (1960 population 35,005) on May 2 voted 5,421 to 3,497 to adopt the council-manager plan.

The International City Managers' Association reports adoption of the council-manager plan by the following cities not already reported in the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW: LOS ALTOS (19,696) and STANTON (11,163), CALIFORNIA, adopted the plan by ordinance; BAXLEY, GEORGIA, (4,268) and HURON, OHIO, (5,197) adopted the plan by charter in 1960.

NORWICH, CONNECTICUT, voted on April 3 to retain the council-manager plan of government, which it has had for ten years. The voters defeated, 5,084 to 2,802, a proposal backed by both political parties for a strong mayor type of government to replace the council-manager plan. The present nonpartisan election system would have been replaced by partisan elections. A council of twelve, elected at large, was proposed with a limit of eight candidates from each major political party.

The Norwich government embraces both the city and the town (township) of that name. About 12,000 voters live in the city and 8,000 in the outlying town area. The city tax rate is reported as 55 mills and the town rate 31 mills. The outer area faced a tax adjustment if the proposed plan were adopted. Under the plan the mayor would have appointed practically all department heads without council approval. There would have been an "administrative agent" to administer ordinary municipal affairs. Norwich has rejected three attempts in ten years to oust the council-manager plan. About 40 per cent of the registered voters participated in the April 3 referendum.

The city council of BRISTOL, CONNECTICUT, voted five to two on April 19 to establish a charter revision commission. The motion to do so was originally so worded as to call for the council-manager plan but, on objection of one of the councilmen, the words "or any other form of municipal government" were added. That councilman voted against the motion none the less.

At a referendum held March 4, HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK, voted 1,395 to 613 to retain the council-manager plan.

At an election held May 9 AMERICUS, GEORGIA, defeated a proposal to adopt a council-manager charter by a vote of 954 to 331.

Voters of FAIRFIELD, OHIO, at an elec-

tion on April 25, defeated a proposed council-manager charter, 1,352 to 372.

A council-manager charter submitted to the voters of HILLIARD, OHIO, on May 2, was defeated 576 to 433.

MOUNT VERNON, ILLINOIS, defeated by a vote of 3,764 to 2,105 on April 18 a proposal to abandon the council-manager plan, adopted eight years ago, and revert to the former aldermanic form. At the same time a new mayor and council were elected, together with the city clerk, city treasurer and police magistrate. The new mayor is an advocate of the council-manager plan as was also the outgoing mayor, who was not a candidate for reelection. An active campaign to retain the council-manager plan was conducted by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

DES PLAINES, ILLINOIS, voted 5,304 to 2,089 on April 18 against a proposed council-manager plan. A mayor was elected who is to be the city's first full-time mayor. Heretofore the mayor's office has been considered a part-time job, but the new budget provides a salary for full time.

LAMESA, TEXAS, by a vote of 1,267 to 839 on April 4 retained council-manager government as against a proposal to change to the mayor-council form. The present plan has been in effect for fifteen years. Councilmen were also elected.

Public Health Association To Meet in Detroit

The 89th annual meeting of the American Public Health Association and meetings of some 60 related organizations will be held in Detroit at Cobo Hall November 13-17. More than 5,000 public health administrators, research scientists and other specialists on the staffs of

local, state, national and international health services and voluntary agencies are expected to attend.

Canadian Commission Seeks More Government Efficiency

The Glassco Commission of Canada, similar to the Hoover Commissions that have studied the federal government in the U. S., has begun its work of investigating the effectiveness and efficiency of government programs, according to the Public Personnel Association. A final report is expected in mid-1962.

Among task forces set up is one on man power in government service, which will study the government's personnel programs, both inside and outside the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission.

METRO AND LITTLE PLACES

(Continued from page 308)

Perhaps the basic key to effective metropolitan policy rests in a remark attributed to the late Mayor Cobo of Detroit, who stated, "What is good for all the municipalities of Michigan is good for Detroit!"

And, from another walk of life, the former Bishop of Olympia, Washington, Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., tells us that a community "is a network of obligations shared, a web of responsibilities and freedoms accepted and sustained by the will of free men."²

² *The Optional God*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1953, as cited in Bayne, *Christian Living*, Canterbury Press, page 248.

Metropolitan Areas*William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor*

Advisory Body Adopts Reports

Bane Commission Makes Metropolitan Area Studies

METROPOLITAN areas and their problems were the subject of two reports adopted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations at its April 27-28 meeting in Washington. Frank Bane, former executive director of the Council of State Governments, is chairman of the commission.

These two major studies, the commission's first on urban problems, are now being prepared for publication. They will be given careful consideration by state and local study committees concerned with governmental problems in urban areas because of the broadly representative character of the commission's membership, which represents all levels of government.

The two reports deal with governmental structure, organization and planning in metropolitan areas and intergovernmental responsibilities for mass transportation facilities and services.

In its report on governmental structure in metropolitan areas, the commission is submitting a number of recommendations for consideration by state legislatures, including: (1) Simplified statutory requirements for municipal annexation of unincorporated territory; (2) authorization for interlocal contracting or joint performance of urban services; (3) authorization for establishment of metropolitan service corporations for performance of particular governmental services that call for area-wide handling; (4) authorization for voluntary transfer of governmental functions from cities to counties and vice versa; (5) authoriza-

tion for the creation of metropolitan area commissions on local government structure and services;

(6) Authorization for creation of metropolitan area planning bodies; (7) establishment of a unit of state government for continuing attention, review and assistance regarding the state's metropolitan areas; (8) inauguration of state programs of financial and technical assistance to metropolitan areas; (9) stricter state standards for new incorporations within metropolitan areas; (10) financial and regulatory action by the state to secure and preserve "open land" in and around metropolitan areas; and (11) assumption by the state of an active role in the resolution of disputes among local units of government within metropolitan areas.

The commission is also recommending expanded activity by the national government with respect to metropolitan area problems, including: (1) Financial support on a continuing basis to metropolitan area planning agencies; (2) expanded federal technical assistance to state and metropolitan planning agencies; (3) congressional consent in advance to interstate compacts creating planning agencies in those metropolitan areas crossing state lines; and (4) review by a metropolitan planning agency of applications for federal grants-in-aid within the area with respect to airport, highway, public housing and hospital construction, waste treatment works and urban renewal projects.

In its report on mass transportation in metropolitan areas, the commission is recommending that states provide financial and technical assistance for the planning of mass transportation in metropolitan areas and that they enact legislation authorizing the creation of metropolitan transportation authorities. The commission is also recommending that

the Congress give advance consent to compacts among states creating interstate transportation planning agencies. Finally, the commission is recommending that the national government provide financial assistance in meeting the mass transportation problem, through grants for planning and for demonstration projects and through long-term low interest loans for the construction and modernization of mass transportation facilities.

Dade County Plan Reports Released

Following adoption of Metropolitan Dade County's home rule charter, work began on the first comprehensive plan for the Miami area. This plan, now in preliminary form, has been released by the Dade County Planning Advisory Board. Thus far, three reports have been issued. The first two, *Economic Base Study* (December 1960, 20 pages) and *Existing Land Use Study* (January 1961, 44 pages plus map insert) are supporting studies for *Preliminary Land Use Plan and Policies for Development* (January 1961, 48 pages plus two map inserts).

The report on the economic base of Dade County is an inventory of economic activity and an analysis of its broader implications. Projections to 1985 indicate that the "Gold Coast" boom will bring the total population of Dade County to approximately 2.5 million. Just as past population influx has proved the most important economic resource of the South Florida region, so the predicted increase will create greater needs and greater economic opportunity.

Above all, the Dade County economy is geared to the demands of the community itself. The essential development of national markets is complicated by the relative lack of natural resources and the area's isolation from major United States markets. On the other hand, Dade County is the closest major metropolitan

area in the United States to the Latin America market.

Favorable climate suggests a bright future for the aircraft industry. Other industries already existing there or highly suited to the area are the manufacture of aluminum products, garments, plastics, electronics equipment and research industries. While the tourist industry is bound to continue its spectacular growth, the welfare of the entire economy would be benefited if tourism would decrease in its share of total economic activity.

The land use study deals with the physical characteristics of Dade County, describing those natural features which cannot be changed, past efforts to alter the surroundings and the results of these endeavors and, finally, those characteristics which man can change.

The third report, which presents the preliminary land use plan, outlines the purposes of metropolitan planning, plus its potentialities and capabilities. The plan itself is broken down into major existing uses and future development objectives. Major recommendations center upon the accommodation of the expected population increase by the intensification of densities and utilization of vacant land in the already urbanized area, by a limited expansion of the present greater Miami region, and the development of a south Dade concentration, the offshore Keys and the homestead area.

One of the essential ingredients of the scheme is the development of the "Magic City Center," which would turn the metropolitan focus inward upon a revitalized Miami business district and blunt the centrifugal force of urban sprawl. Included in the Magic City Center would be governmental, transportation and cultural centers, pedestrian "super blocks" and attractive business and shopping areas. Details are presented on commercial, industrial and transportation facilities for the future.

How to translate these plans into reality forms the concluding portion of

S.M.S.A. Map

The National Industrial Conference Board, in its *Business Record* for March 1961, published a special map insert showing the 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas defined in 1960. Differential shading shows the areas added since 1950. Single copies of the issue may be purchased for \$5.00 from the Conference Board, 460 Park Avenue, New York 22. The map cannot be secured separately.

the report. Special reference is made to the role of the citizen, the businessman and the local official in the total planning process.

W.J.D.B.

Form Interim Committee On Urban Areas

A joint interim committee on urban area government has been organized in the state of Washington. The bill authorizing the committee was passed by the 1961 legislature. The committee is composed of four members of each house. Representative Norman B. Ackley was chosen chairman and Senator Fred Dore vice chairman. Walter B. Williams, Jr., was named secretary. All except two of the members are from King County (Seattle). The others are from Spokane County and rural Kittitas County.

Creation of the interim committee had been urged by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, which stated that "the committee's mission should be to formulate long-range goals of urban development and to determine the best means of achieving these goals through the processes of local government." The Municipal League anticipates that the committee will work closely with citizen

groups to bring the views and experience of civic leaders into focus on the problems of interrelationships of state and local agencies.

A budget of \$60,000 for the committee was approved.

Municipal Mergers Proposed by Mayor

Metropolitan problems to many people seem to mean principally the problems of the central city, its frustrations in dealing with such area-wide matters as transportation and traffic congestion, physical deterioration of neighborhoods, slums, open space for parks and recreational opportunities, water supply, sewage disposal, control of air pollution, civil defense, etc., all extending beyond the central city limits. Often overlooked is the fact that suburban communities in the metropolitan area have their problems, too.

Now comes the mayor of a suburban community with a solution, Nathan B. Kaufman, mayor of University City, in St. Louis County, Missouri. He advocates "consolidation of St. Louis County's 98 municipalities into a few large cities capable of providing necessary municipal services."

As a corollary, Mayor Kaufman recently told the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, it then would be unnecessary to give additional powers to the St. Louis County Council. County leaders are seeking authority to supply some municipal services throughout the county.

Mayor Kaufman pointed out that there is strong opposition to the latter action, one of the principal objections being that the "town hall" type of democracy would be lost in a big governmental unit and another being that such a government would, by virtue of its size, be inefficient and too easily controlled by selfish political interests.

"If we continue to survive under the present framework of 98 municipalities,

in the near future we will encourage additional state legislation to give the county government power to perform area-wide functions," Kaufman predicted.

"If we had self-sufficient municipal units, we could take the position that it would be necessary to transfer additional functions to the county government," he said.

"The area-wide problems would fade to an irreducible minimum. Control over major traffic arteries and disposal of rubbish and garbage are examples of the few area-wide functions that would remain for the county government to handle."

Kaufman said he could not estimate how many municipalities should be formed under his proposal.

"I would say that the determining factor should be simply whether a given area can provide all the needed services," he stated. "Certainly the cities with only 750 residents are not doing it. Even many that are considerably larger are not doing it either. There are only about five municipalities in the county that are providing all municipal services today."

From American Municipal News, Published by the American Municipal Association, April 29, 1961.

Regional Report Issued By Washington Agency

The Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference released its first regional annual report at its spring conference on April 20.¹ Created in 1957 the WMRC is the voluntary, general-purpose organization of the governments in the national capital region and is designed to promote area-wide cooperation in the solution of regional problems. Although

the WMRC has issued a monthly bulletin for some time, as well as other special reports or statements, this is the first to be characterized as the "regional annual report." In addition to a description of the WMRC, the report describes the seven other regional agencies in the area: National Capital Regional Planning Council, National Capital Planning Commission, Tri-State Transportation Commission, Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission, National Capital Transportation Agency, Metropolitan Area Traffic Council, and the Washington Metropolitan Regional Sanitary Board.

Cincinnati Area— A 'Patchwork Quilt'

In *Hamilton County's Patchwork Quilt* the pattern of local government in the Cincinnati metropolitan area and the problems resulting from the overlapping of jurisdictions are described. Written by Iola O. Hessler, executive director of the Hamilton County Research Foundation (4 West 7th Street, Cincinnati 2) the report is based upon research by Richard L. Dawley of the Department of Geography and Regional Planning, University of Cincinnati.

"The 'metropolitan problem' lies in the fact that there are tasks to be done which are not confined within the boundaries of any government with authority to perform them." The result is a "governmental void" illustrated by the fact that there is no existing planning agency with authority to make land-use plans for Greater Cincinnati. The uneven and confused pattern of public services can be seen in such vital functions as police and fire protection, sewage disposal and air pollution control. The report is designed to stimulate study. It makes no recommendations but points to various solutions which may be considered in filling the governmental void.

¹ *Cooperation—the Story of the Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference. Regional Annual Report, District Building, Washington 4, D. C., 1961.*

Two Views on Services vs. Taxes

Persistent Tax Bite Worries Tax Group

Henry Suburban reaches out at seven o'clock of a wintry morning to turn off the alarm clock (price \$5, tax 50 cents). He pushes down the electric blanket (price \$28, tax 84 cents), climbs sleepily out of bed. He walks across the bedroom floor of his house (price \$12,000, annual property tax \$209) and switches on the electricity, lighting a bulb (price 33 cents, tax 2 cents).

To music from a bedroom radio (price \$30, tax \$1.80), Henry shaves with his electric razor (see above). As a radio newscaster reports that Henry's state is preparing to increase income taxes and impose a general sales tax on everything anyone buys, Henry slaps a handful of bay rum (price \$1.30, tax 13 cents) across his jowls.

He dresses quickly, hurriedly fastening cuff links (price \$5, tax 50 cents) and tie clasp (price \$3, tax 30 cents), puts on his Swiss wrist watch (price \$60, tax \$6), and rushes down stairs. Tucked under one arm is a leather briefcase (price \$25, tax \$2.50) which carries papers from his real estate office, including one deed (property valued at \$3,000, stamp tax \$3.30).

In the kitchen he's just in time to snatch two slices of bread (at least 151 hidden taxes) from the electric toaster (price \$16, tax 48 cents), lift his coffee from the gas stove (price \$190, tax \$5.70), and grab a glass of fruit juice from the refrigerator (price \$300, tax \$9).

A glance out of the window shows it's begun to snow, so he calls to his wife (marriage license \$2) to telephone

(Continued on next page)

Taxes Promote Public Weal Says Newspaper

"The government's never done anything for me!" shouted the man in Detroit as he slammed the door on the census taker. No? Just think.

The chances are that he or a relative would have been dead long ago, from typhoid let's say, but for government. His house would have burned down or been burglarized or a footpad would have slugged him on the street but for government.

Government protects his money in the bank. It assures him of some income if he loses his job (not unlikely, with his disposition) or is disabled or retired. It guards him daily from utility overcharges, usurious interest, or commercial swindles, whether he is buying a new house or a shot of booze.

Is he ever sick? Government protects his life by maintaining professional standards of medical care. Does he drive to work? Who built the road? Who brings and carries his mail? Who tells him what the weather will be? Who pays attention to his safety from bodily injury at work, in public places and traveling?

Government defends his right to belong to a union and his right not to be duped or swindled by union bosses. It conserves (more or less) the natural resources of the land, which belong to him personally as a citizen and which he could not live without. It gives him recourse to courts and juries if wronged (but legal wrongs do not include a census taker's proper questions).

Has he a relative who is blind, deaf, mentally afflicted, physically handicapped? Government probably is helping. It guards the health of his children with pure milk,

pure food, pure drugs, inoculations, playgrounds, crossing guards. It teaches them and other people whose education is vital to his own welfare one way or another.

Government preserves the knowledge and wisdom of the ages in universities and libraries and supports the search for new knowledge that serves every citizen whether he knows it or not.

In his name government aids the hungry, naked and destitute around the world. If he deems this no favor to himself, there was another man who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

Government has literally saved that Detroit man's life, liberty and property from destruction or tyranny by its mighty military efforts, three times probably in his own lifetime, at least once possibly with his own aid. And it sleeplessly continues to defend him daily through diplomacy, watchfulness and readiness.

It is government that guarantees and cherishes intact his freedom to choose and practice any religion, or—conversely and equally—his freedom, if he chooses, not to practice any.

Has government "never done anything for me?" Think again!—*Milwaukee Journal*, April 17, 1960.

Tax Bite

(Continued from previous page)

(monthly telephone bill \$12, tax \$1.20) for a taxi. Too many other people want taxis on a snowy morning, so Henry gets out his own car (price \$2,500, total taxes \$518) and drives (operator's license \$3) to the railroad station.

Henry relaxes at the station with a cigarette (price per pack 13 cents, tax 15 cents), lit by a match (tax 2 cents per 1,000). Aboard the train, he settles down to a hand of bridge with three cronies, using, of course, a deck of cards (price 40 cents, tax 13 cents).

In the city on his way to the office, Henry stops to buy a roll of camera film

(price 40 cents, tax 2 cents) that he promised his son (registration of birth \$1), and the lipstick (price \$1, tax 10 cents) he promised his wife. Because there are friends coming to Henry's house in the evening, he buys a bottle of whiskey (price \$3.40, tax \$2.10).

Arriving eventually at the office, Henry sighs (no tax) and settles to a day's work (annual income \$7,500, federal and state income taxes \$986). If he works hard for the rest of his life, he will be able to provide the government with a handsome slice of inheritance tax. And if he dies in a state that is fiscally tolerant, he can take comfort in the thought that his casket—provided it costs less than \$100—will be exempt from any sales tax.—*Tax Foundation, as quoted in Tax Facts, published by Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, February 17, 1961.*

Reports on State Finance Published

Various final statistics on state finance for fiscal and calendar years 1960 have been released.

State governments altogether spent \$31,596 million during the 1960 fiscal year, according to data from the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. The total included nearly \$3.5 billion paid as benefits for unemployment compensation, employee retirement and other state insurance trust systems. In sixteen states, where liquor stores are a government monopoly, a total of \$907 million was spent on these enterprises. General expenditures comprised the remaining total of \$27,288 million, an increase of 4.7 per cent over fiscal 1959.

Expenditures by the states increased in all major categories except highways and unemployment compensation. Per capita spending for major governmental functions were: education, \$49.60; highways, \$40.98; public welfare, \$20.74; hospitals, \$9.85; all other purposes,

\$31.32. Total per capita expenditures were \$152.49.

Three-tenths of the total spent by states consisted of payments to local governments, which amounted to \$9,282 million. Other expenditure totals were: capital outlay, \$6,607 million; insurance benefits and repayments, \$3,461 million; and wages and salaries, \$6,055 million.

Outstanding debt of the states rose 9.5 per cent during fiscal 1960 to a new high of \$18.5 billion. Total borrowing for the year was in excess of \$2.3 billion, while debt redemption totaled only \$900 million.

General revenue increased in each state except Oklahoma and New Mexico. General expenditures increased in 37 states while debt outstanding went up in 36 states.

Calendar year 1960 state excise tax collections showed a sharp increase over calendar 1959.¹ Sales taxes increased almost 8.7 per cent, topping the \$4 billion mark for the first time (1959—\$3.9 billion; 1960—\$4.3 billion). Yields of motor fuel taxes were up 4.5 per cent (1959, \$3.2 billion; 1960, \$3.3 billion). Tobacco taxes showed increased revenues of 20 per cent (1959, \$837 million; 1960, \$994 million).

Bond authorizations approved by voters reached an all time high of \$6.1 billion during calendar 1960.² This represents a figure 30 per cent above the previous all time high reached in 1956. The approval ratio was extremely high—86.3 per cent by value. A total of only \$960 million bond proposals was turned down by the electorate. Two-thirds of the approved issues were for elementary and secondary schools and water and sewer projects. Better than three-fourths of the \$2,312 million water and sewer bonds approved

were accounted for by the \$1,757 million California water project.³ Recreation facilities and administration building proposals had the hardest time getting approval, more than half of them meeting defeat at the polls.

In contrast to the large volume of bonds approved, actual municipal bond sales declined slightly in 1960 from the two previous years. Sales in 1958 reached \$7.4 billion, in 1959 they were \$7.7 billion but in 1960 totaled only \$7.2 billion. A downward trend in bond sales began in April 1958. First quarter reports of this year would indicate that an upward trend may have begun. Total volume of state and local long term financing reached \$2.1 billion during the quarter ending March 31 of this year, surpassing by 11.4 per cent the same period of 1960 but still below the \$2.2 plus billion of 1958 and the \$2.1 plus billion of 1959.⁴

California Making Use of Bond Market

The largest financing venture in California's history was completed during the early part of April. That fast growing state borrowed \$190 million through bond sales awarded at a net interest of 3.8723 per cent and 3.8474 per cent. All the bonds were sold out of account, managed by the Bank of America and the Bankers Trust Company, within the first day. Total subscriptions for the financing totaled \$1 billion.

The bonds consisted of \$140 million for the Veterans Farm and Home Loan program and \$50 million for state construction. Both carried maturities ranging from 1962 to 1986.

A total of \$400 million veterans bonds were authorized by California's voters in June 1960. The program has been in existence for 40 years and has behind it the full faith and credit of the state.

¹ *Tax Administrators News*, Federation of Tax Administrators, Chicago, March 1961.

² IBA News Release, Investment Bankers of America, Washington, D.C. February 27, 1961.

³ See the REVIEW, January 1961, page 46.

⁴ *Bond Buyer*, April 10, 1961, page 1.

The World of Confusion

Today the world is in a state of confusion. The poorer citizens have captured the government and voted the property of the rich into the coffers of the state for redistribution among the voters.

Politicians have strained their ingenuity to discover new sources of public revenue; they have doubled the indirect taxes . . . they have continued the extraordinary taxes of wartime into peacetime; they have broadened perilously the field of income tax as well as the property tax.

One of our wisest men states, "When I was a boy, wealth was regarded as secure and admirable—but now a man has to defend himself against being rich as if it were the worst of crimes. Athletes have become professionalized; young citizens who once belonged to the gymnasiums now exert themselves vicariously by witnessing professional exhibitions."

Philosophy has struggled to find in civic loyalty or in a national ethics some substitute for the divine commandments.

Socrates at Athens, circa 350 B.C.

Loans from the funds are available to veterans of World Wars I and II plus the Korean War. Although the loans have been available since 1921, only 12 per cent has been paid out to the potential 1,400,000 California veterans.

From 1946 through 1957, California spent over \$900 million out of current revenue for the construction of state buildings. From 1925 until 1958, bonds were not utilized for this purpose. The present issue is the first of a total \$200 million authorized by the voters in November 1958.

Presently under consideration by the California government is a \$1 billion bond issue for a ten-year building program of the University of California and the State College system.

At the same time, John M. Peirce, general manager of the San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit District, has proposed a \$500 million bond issue that could go to local transit districts on a matching funds basis. Under this plan, state voters would be asked to approve a guarantee of bond repayment and interest but the money would actually come from the taxpayers of the rapid transit district and from the earnings

of the system itself.

California's present rate of selling bonds is about \$400 million annually. The market would absorb around \$500 million annually according to advice given Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown.

California's state treasurer's office has released a handsome brochure on *The California Bonding Picture* which gives a thorough resume of past, present and future trends in the Golden State, in addition to which it gives special attention to the major categories of California bond issues.

Municipal Forests Source of Revenue

The American City for March 1961 notes that municipally-owned forests have far greater popularity than is commonly realized. All told, it is estimated there are about 3,300 of them. The largest such forest is the 67,000-acre watershed area of the city of Seattle.

All such park-forests have definite income potential. For example, sale of pulpwood from the Fredericksburg, Virginia, 110-acre pine forest netted the city a \$5,000 return.

Citizen Action

Elsie S. Parker, Editor

Galveston Citizens Win Another Victory

Elect Council Candidates To Set Up Manager Plan

On Tuesday, April 11, the citizens of Galveston, Texas, once again won a civic victory at the polls. Out of eight candidates endorsed by the Citizens Charter Committee for seven places on the city council, five secured a majority vote. Two of the committee's candidates were Nos. 6 and 7 in the race but, failing to obtain a majority vote, they participated in a run-off election May 9. One of the two was elected—the first Negro to win an election to a governing body in Galveston. The seventh candidate elected ran as an independent.

Galveston voters adopted a council-manager plan charter at the polls on April 19, 1960, after a spirited campaign backed by the League of Women Voters (which had adopted a program to work for council-manager government) and other civic organizations.¹

Immediately on the charter's adoption the League of Women Voters called a meeting to form a citizens group in support of council-manager government. From this and several other preliminary meetings came the Citizens Charter Committee, which grew quickly to over five hundred members. The new organization appointed an endorsement committee to recommend qualified persons for candidates the group could support for election to the city council which will inaugurate manager government. Its slate selected, the charter committee went to work.

Billboards were posted in eight strategic spots in the city, advertising the

names of the charter committee's eight candidates. Car signs were placed on top of automobiles, which roved the city; cards and "stickums" were distributed. Newspaper ads supporting the charter committee candidates ran steadily for the last ten days of the campaign; radio and TV spots called attention to the candidates.

A date bureau arranged speaking engagements. Union, PTA, civic and social club meetings, church groups, public dinners—anywhere a crowd gathered candidates were on hand to meet the voters and ask for their support at the polls. Candidates and others were at the city and county parking lots, from where garbage collectors, truck drivers, road repair crews, etc., leave as early as 4 A.M., to seek support. Campaigning went on 24 hours a day.

A telephone committee composed of over 350 women called some 20,000 voters and urged them to cast their ballots for "good government." Over two hundred women worked at committee headquarters, where mailings went out to the 20,000 voters. A finance committee solicited funds to carry on the work.

The charter committee provided poll watchers for all precincts who, as an added service, gave voting machine totals to the radio stations, thereby expediting the reporting of results.

There were whispering campaigns against the candidates, of course—city employees would be fired, the charter committee would take over city hall. But the committee feels the results at the polls indicate a vote of confidence for good government in Galveston.

FRANCES KAY HARRIS
President and Campaign Manager

Galveston Citizens Charter
Committee

¹ See the REVIEW, June 1960, page 326.

Poll Shows NYC Voters Favor Charter Revision

Three-quarters of the voters of New York City favor revision of the city charter, according to a survey just completed by the League of Women Voters. The sampling showed, however, that only 45 per cent know they may have an opportunity to vote on a new charter this year.

"The results of our poll indicate that New Yorkers are highly disposed to charter revision, but there is no evidence that they know why or in what way," said Mrs. George C. Vietheer, league president. "It is obvious that an intensive campaign of public education is needed before people are ready to make intelligent choices on charter referendum."

Volunteer league members undertook the interviewing of nearly 3,000 voters. The questionnaire was prepared by Elmo Roper Associates in consultation with the league.

Among the 70 per cent who said they "always or usually" vote on amendments on the ballot, 30 per cent had not heard of any proposals for charter revision. It was also noted that most people who do vote on amendments say newspapers are their primary source of information.

Others results showed that:

1. Only a third of those interviewed had heard of the Moore Commission¹ (which has recently published extensive proposals for a new city charter);

2. Only a fourth knew that the Moore Commission had been set up to study New York City government;

3. A fifth of those who said that they were aware of proposals to revise the charter could not name the document that describes the city's government;

4. Knowledge of charter revision increases with the economic scale. Tabulation of the questionnaires showed that higher income groups had been over-

sampled. Had economic groups been sampled in their true proportion, it is probable that the percentage of voters aware of charter revision would fall.

Cleveland League Cites Candidates Program

EDITOR'S NOTE—The article below is taken from "The Candidates Program of the Citizens League," appearing in *Greater Cleveland*, publication of the Citizens League of Greater Cleveland, for April 1961.

The purpose of the Citizens League is to improve local government in Cuyahoga County [Cleveland].

Local government in the twentieth century is complex. A citizen by himself cannot be an expert in the intricacies of modern governmental management nor does he have the man-hours to follow in detail the careers of the numerous candidates for office—after he has mastered his own business or profession and earned a living for himself and family.

By banding together in an organization like the league, the knowledge and the man-hours can be made available to members and their friends. By studying the records of the hundreds of candidates for office, by interviewing them and by making recommendations, the league assists the citizen in more intelligent voting and thereby contributes to improved local government.

Emphasis is placed on assistance to the voter rather than on the election of a slate of candidates and the control of the government.

The league relies on its reputation for thoroughness and objectivity for its following and influence. Because many voters admire this attribute and follow the league's recommendations, a contribution is made to the election of better officials. Experience has also demonstrated that public officials often modify their actions in office because they value the accolades of the league and seek to secure its approval.

¹ See the REVIEW, March 1961, page 139; April 1961, page 200.

Thus, each year since 1896, the league has had as one of its major programs the interviewing of candidates, the determination of the best qualified and the publication of its recommendations.

In carrying out its responsibilities, the Citizens League makes every effort to follow procedures that will maximize objectivity, add to its good reputation in the community and make the greatest contribution possible to improved officials, effective government, and responsible, enlightened citizens.

In determining which offices are to be included in the recommendations, the league places emphasis on the difficulty the average voter has in securing reliable information about the candidates.

The league does not make recommendations for president and vice president of the United States because the average voter has ample opportunity to learn of the qualifications of the candidates for these offices. For the same reason, the league does not make recommendations for U.S. senator, U.S. congressmen, state executive offices, and mayor of Cleveland.

The offices on the local ballot which tend to get lost in the campaign and on which the league feels it can make a contribution are as follows: Members of the State Supreme Court, State General Assembly, State Board of Education, Court of Appeals, Common Pleas Court, Juvenile Court, Probate Court, municipal courts, county offices, Cleveland city council, Cleveland clerk of courts, Cleveland board of education.

On a year-around basis, files are maintained on those individuals who have been candidates for office. The staff adds to these files news stories, editorials and other materials that may come to its attention.

The staff also observes public officials in action from day to day and accumulates a knowledge of the activities of the officials that will contribute to an understanding of their effectiveness in office.

Some weeks prior to the filing date for

an election, the president appoints a candidates committee general chairman. The president and the general chairman select the members of the candidates committee. In making the appointments, they consult with the director, members of the executive committee and other knowledgeable board members. Suggestions made by any member of the league are given careful consideration.

Every effort is made to select individuals with a judicial temperament and an objective approach to public problems. A conscious effort is also made to have on the committee persons who come from different areas of metropolitan Cleveland, persons who have an understanding of the different groups and viewpoints represented among the voters, and who have a wide acquaintance in the two principal political parties. . . .

Although many of the things which contribute to a candidate's qualification for office are intangible, some of the major items that should be weighed are: (1) Education, (2) success in business or profession, (3) knowledge of duties of the office, (4) knowledge of important issues, (5) community activities, (6) clarity and logic of expression, (7) ability to develop program for solution of problems, (8) record in public office and ability to put over program, (9) personal characteristics.

After all the candidates for the office have been interviewed, the committee proceeds to evaluate their qualifications. . . .

The committee selects the one candidate it feels is best qualified for the office. This candidate is given the designation "preferred."

If there are other candidates who meet to a high degree the requisites of a desirable public official, they may be given a rating of "well qualified."

If there are candidates whose records indicate they would be undesirable in public office, they may be designated as "not qualified."

Many of the candidates do not fall in any of the above three categories. The committee expresses its general appraisal of these candidates and the staff prepares appropriate comments.

The staff prepares the report of the committee for the board of trustees of the league. The report is presented to the board at a regular meeting by the committee chairman and such other members of the candidates committee as he may designate.

The board reviews the report and makes such changes as it wishes.

The staff releases the report to the newspapers and has it printed and distributed to the members of the league and their friends.

Fair Campaign Practices

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee (45 East 65th Street, New York 21) in its April 1961 *Bulletin*, reports in brief on some of the highlights of the November 1960 election campaign. In some 424 contests for U.S. senators, members of the House of Representatives and governors, one or both candidates signed the Code of Fair Campaign Practices in 80 per cent of the races. The 1960 figure compares with 85 per cent in 1958 and 70 per cent in 1956. The position of the Internal Revenue Service forbidding the publicizing of code signers forced de-emphasis on the code, reports the *Bulletin*. "Only one letter inviting signatures was sent to candidates in 1960. In previous years follow-up mailings to non-signers brought many returns. Thus the 80 per cent figure for last fall is impressive evidence of growing acceptance of the code by candidates."

Business and Citizenship

The April 1961 issue of *Echo*, publication of the Effective Citizens Organiza-

tion, cites the activities of various business organizations in bringing public affairs to the attention of their employees.

Phillips Petroleum Company has announced the availability of *Your Personal Citizenship Guide* to its 55,000 jobbers, dealers and employees in 38 states. Some 24,000 of the total are employees. The "package" includes a list of U.S. senators and representatives, folders titled *What and How to Write Congressmen* and *Our American Government—What Is It? How Does It Function?*, as well as a discussion on congressional committees and a description of how a bill becomes a law.

Publications issued by such organizations as the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation, General Electric in Syracuse, Armco Steel Corporation, Western Electric, Committee on Public Affairs of McGraw-Edison Company, discuss legislative issues, taxes, elections and voting, etc.

Cleveland Meeting

The combined annual meeting of the Citizens League of Greater Cleveland and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research was held on May 9 at a luncheon. Principal speaker was Charles A. Harrell, city manager of Cincinnati, whose topic was "The Challenge to Local Government: A Look to the Future." "Can local government survive the 60s?" and "Will county government flourish or die?" were among the questions Mr. Harrell discussed.

Strictly Personal

The board of directors of the Greater Toledo Municipal League has appointed ARTHUR S. JOHNSON as executive secretary of the organization. Until recently, Mr. Johnson was directing administrative and management surveys of Granite City and East St. Louis, Illinois.

Politics Analyzed In Six Urban Areas

Harvard-MIT Center
Extends Its Series

REPORTS on the politics of six cities have been added to the series begun in 1959 by the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. The current studies in the project, which is being directed by Edward C. Banfield, present analyses of Boston, Detroit, Houston, Milwaukee, Nashville and Worcester (Massachusetts). Earlier ones were on Cincinnati, Denver, Kansas City (Missouri), Los Angeles, Minneapolis, St. Louis and St. Paul.¹ In preparation are reports on Atlanta, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Cleveland, Manchester (New Hampshire), Miami, Portland (Oregon), Salt Lake City, Seattle, Washington, D. C., and Stockholm (Sweden).

While the reports vary greatly in length² each contains information under seven common section headings: characteristics of the population (including census tract data); structure of the government and of parties; elections and selected voting data (including some returns by precincts and wards); external relations with county, state and national governments; interest groups and influences; issues and problems; and references and bibliography. The statistical data are especially rich in detail and their painstaking assembly is a significant boon to students of urban politics.

The Houston report (243 pages) may

serve as an illustration of the nature of the studies. Part I (characteristics of the population) provides factual data and some interpretation on six topics: number of inhabitants and area, white and non-white persons, ethnic characteristics and national origin, religious affiliation, occupations, general character and ethos. Part II (government, parties and politics), more impressionistic, discusses governmental structure of Houston and Harris County, recent city politics—reform and the present city administration, the Democrats, Republicans and the Constitutionalists. Part III (elections and voting data) presents commentary and election statistics.

Part IV (external relations) is a brief discussion of Houston's relations with Harris County, with other cities in the county and with the Houston school district, as well as with the state and national governments. Part V (interest groups and influences) reports on business interests and the power structure; Negro goals, leadership and organization; Spanish-Americans; Jews; the press; labor; churches.

Part VI (issues and problems) identifies and discusses ten Houston issues: schools, annexation, zoning, planning, urban renewal, housing, city finances and taxation, county home rule (metropolitan government), water, transportation and freeways, plus a half-dozen briefly stated "minor problems and recent issues." Part VII is devoted to bibliographical materials.

From this report the reader may acquire, as he can from no other single source, a sense of the Houston political system as perceived by an observer who is asking the relevant questions and knows where to look for, and how to appraise, the answers—within the limits of the quick reconnaissance which the series represents.

¹ See the REVIEW, April 1960, page 215.

² Los Angeles 99 pages, Boston 315 pages, priced from \$3.00 to \$9.50.

The other reports have comparable virtues. Several of them have valuable special features: for example, the Nashville report contains an extensive discussion of the recent efforts to achieve metropolitan governmental integration, while the Detroit study deals with agencies involved in metropolitan operations, coordinating planning and research. In their entirety, these documents are a valuable new asset for all those concerned with urban political phenomena.

WALLACE S. SAYRE

Columbia University

Two More States Study Apportionment

Further studies on legislative and congressional reapportionment have been published subsequent to the 1960 census and the decennial reshuffling of seats which follows. The Minnesota Legislative Research Committee tackles the problem of *Congressional Redistricting* (St. Paul, January 1961, 8 pages) for that state in view of its having lost one seat, reducing it to eight representatives. The committee's suggestions take into account contiguous grouping of counties (except Hennepin County, which is divided by making one district of Minneapolis and joining the country's rural section to another county to form a second district), deviating from the norm not more than 15 per cent.

In an effort to provide impartial factual background for the current interest in legislative malapportionment in Tennessee,¹ the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Tennessee has brought out a *Memorandum on Legislative Reapportionment in Tennessee* (Knoxville, January 1961, 17 pages). Starting with a standard of norm of population for each senatorial and representative district, a deviation of up to

25 per cent from that norm is allowed before the situation is described as serious.

The result indicates the widespread maladjustment of apportionment in Tennessee by revealing that only "nineteen out of a total of 132 districts . . . have a population that is normal or reasonable in size." Thus 86 per cent of all districts are outside the "zone of tolerance" granted by the allowance of the 25 per cent deviation—a generous standard in comparison with others now being discussed by Congress in regard to congressional districts.

California Redistricting Studied at County Level

In a publication of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California, Stuart C. Hall has reviewed the problems of *County Supervisorial Districting in California* (Berkeley, 1961, xi, 172 pages, \$3.00). "Much attention has been paid the disparities in size among congressional and among state legislative districts. The concern of this study is the vastly more numerous instances of disparities in size that exist among the districts from which county supervisors are elected."

Only two of California's 57 counties elect their five supervisors at large; 21 have not been redistricted since 1900. In one county one rural voter has 48 times the voting power of his city cousin in the same county. Only 38 per cent of a total of 285 supervisorial districts in California meet a standard based on a deviation of 25 per cent from equality of representation.

The causes for this wide diversity and inequity are two: "(1) The discretionary nature of statutory provisions for redistricting and (2) the failure of boards of supervisors to adjust district boundaries in accordance with rapidly changing population patterns." As an illustration of the first, there are only four counties where districting is required after each decennial census.

¹ See the REVIEW, January 1961, page 28.

The author suggests several solutions, among them being election at large or mandatory automatic redistricting provisions with enforcement machinery so that California citizens can have redress if no redistricting is achieved.

Analysis of Community Presented in Seminars

Papers presented originally as talks given in conjunction with a series of seminars sponsored by the Institute for Community Development at Michigan State University form the bulk of *Social Science and Community Action*, edited by Charles R. Adrian (East Lansing, 59 pages, 1960). A noted sociologist, political scientist and city planner present in abbreviated form concepts of their fields having relevance to the study of communities, and the result is informative and often delightfully provocative.

"Theory, Research and Practice in Community Organization" is explored by Peter H. Rosse, "The Analysis of Influence in Local Communities" is presented by Robert A. Dahl, and Lloyd Rodwin sets forth his ideas on "The Roles of the Planner in the Community." All three advance thoughts of immense value in understanding and appraising urban culture. While these theories, particularly those concerning influence and power discussed by Dahl, are essentially abstract in nature, they are at the same time presented in a clear and readable way which facilitates their being both stimulating to further thought and usable for working tools in urban research.

Manager Tenure Surveyed

The City Managers' News Letter (International City Managers' Association, Chicago 37) of April 1 indicates that two statewide studies of the tenure and turnover in the city manager profession are in process—one in Illinois and the other in Florida. The first is

being done by Charles A. Willis under the auspices of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs of the University of Illinois; the second is by Gladys M. Kammerer, professor of political science at the University of Florida, under a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

A nation-wide study of managers who have left the profession during the past five years is being done by Professor Edwin O. Stene and Donald L. Brown at the University of Kansas.

Regulatory Agency Problem Discussed

A recent issue of *Indiana Public Affairs Notes* (Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University, Bloomington, November-December 1960) is concerned with the administrative and political problems involved in state regulation of public utilities. The article, "Some Problems in Public Utility Regulation in Indiana," by David Welborn, describes legislative conflict which arose when two regulatory agencies intended to function in a complementary manner each submitted proposals to the Indiana General Assembly with the purpose of abolishing the other.

While Mr. Welborn discusses in detail the administrative problems of the Public Service Commission and the related Office of the Public Counselor, he feels that the chief reason for the conflict is a divergence of goals. Operationally, the agencies share much the same difficulties: insufficient budget, hindering the organizations' ability to attract personnel of the necessary training, experience and capability, and a gubernatorial policy of making major appointments on a patronage basis. These conditions unite to create a top leadership which is characterized by a "lack of technical competence aggravated by a high turnover rate, and preoccupation, if not occupation, with partisan politics."

While these conditions create serious difficulties, Mr. Welborn feels that the major problem is "one of direction and purpose" and concerns the definition of the public interest. The public counselor represents the general interests of the consumer while the commission, in insuring adequate service at minimum rates as well as "reasonable" profits, is put in the light of defending "anti-public" interests. Mr. Welborn feels that to this "most difficult problem of all . . . there may be no satisfactory solution."

DEBORAH ROSENFELD

Batters Up—Play Ball

To present both sides of the recent successful Michigan vote on a constitutional convention,¹ the Bureau of Social and Political Research at Michigan State University published *Focus on Con-Con*, by Carolyn Stieber (East Lansing, February 1961, 32 pages). This pamphlet does just what its title indicates—it focuses attention on the various sections of the state constitution which have been considered for revision and gives the views of both proponents and opponents of changes, when possible in their own words. It is valuable, both for Michiganders for whom it crystallizes the probable issues in the forthcoming convention, and for those outside the state in indicating the problems, personalities and organizations that are involved, thus serving much in the same way as a "line-up" does for a baseball game.

Oregon Annexation Laws

Municipal Annexation in Oregon: The Law and Practice of Annexation and Its Effect on Special Districts, by Orval Etter (March 1961, 18 pages) has been issued by the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service at the University of

Oregon (Eugene). It is particularly helpful since most Oregon cities are surrounded by districts providing services such as fire protection and water, and annexation of all or part of these districts produces a number of harassing legal and administrative problems. The study includes a short bibliography on annexation, incorporating sources from Oregon law and those of a general nature.

Texas Reports Issued

Four reports were issued to the Texas legislature in December 1960 by the Texas Legislative Council (Capitol Station, Austin). These range in coverage from problems common to all states to those uniquely Texan: *Fees Charged by State Executive Agencies* (42 pages), *Texas Laws on Child Care and Juvenile Delinquency, Including a Codification* (227 pages), *Teacher Retirement System of Texas: Administration and Actuarial Review* (56 pages) and *State-Owned Submerged Lands and Islands: Completion of a Four Year Study (Supplemental Report)* (53 pages). All the publications contain recommendations and those on child care and juvenile delinquency, as well as state-owned submerged lands, include suggestions for bills.

Illinois Manual

The Illinois Legislative Council has prepared a manual, *Lawmaking in the Illinois General Assembly*, based on an original manuscript by Richard C. Spencer and adapted by Jack F. Isakoff and Samuel K. Gove (Springfield, 1960, 79 pages) which is "designed to provide a systematic survey of Illinois lawmaking procedures in sufficient depth to be of value to new legislators and to citizens desiring more than a summary treatment." It covers briefly and clearly the General Assembly's powers, organization, regular procedures, procedural variations and parliamentary safeguards.

¹ See the REVIEW, May 1961, pages 236 and 252.

Books in Review

Conflict of Interest

CONFLICT OF INTEREST AND FEDERAL SERVICE. By The Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Special Committee on the Federal Conflict of Interest Laws. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960. xvi, 336 pp. \$5.50.

The inauguration of a new administration in Washington has made a discussion of the problem of recruitment of personnel and standards of ethics applicable to such personnel extremely timely. *Conflict of Interest and Federal Service* is the result of a study conducted by a special committee of the Association of the Bar of New York City. Staff director of the study, Bayless Manning, is among those appointed by President Kennedy to prepare a special report on the conflict of interest problem.

The book relates the history of legislation on the subject from its mid-eighteenth century beginnings until 1958. Various agencies of the government—particularly sensitive to the problem—have developed their own set of regulations. In addition, the Senate committees concerned with confirmation of presidential appointments have devised their own procedures for ferreting out unethical practices.

The program proposed by the study would entail a single, integrated statute, repealing much existing legislation and adding to other areas, including a general code of regulations plus a particularized set of rules on an agency-by-agency basis. The plan calls for the removal of the program's enforcement from the Bureau of the Budget and the designation of a single administrator who would be directly responsible to the president.

The book has received high praise. Charles P. Taft, former mayor of Cincinnati and chairman of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, wrote a

laudatory article on the book in the *Yale Law Review* for April 1961. He was critical, however, of the book's assumption that the search for capable political administrators would be, and should be, so nearly restricted to men in top business positions. Mr. Taft felt the committee's report automatically excluded the professional politician. He states:

"This seems to me nonsense. I am for the merit system but I have grave doubts that executive merit for political posts can be found only among businessmen. We have not produced and maintained good government in Cincinnati through businessmen but through honest and shrewd politicians. The 'endless adventure of governing men' is not a business but a political enterprise. Incidentally, it is not a military enterprise either, however available retired generals or admirals may be."

Equally vulnerable to criticism is the book's acceptance of the idea that federal service should be of no more than two or three years duration. The committee's point is that few promising business or labor executives can afford more than this period away from their "regular" careers. Mr. Taft is extremely critical of this view, noting that Walter Lippmann has called President Kennedy's appointments neither professional politicians nor professors but professional public service men. This type of man can be found for public service, Mr. Taft concludes, and such men will have fewer conflicts of interest.

W.J.D.B.

Politics

CALIFORNIA POLITICS. (Third Edition) By Joseph P. Harris. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1961. 83 pp. Maps, charts, tables. \$1.35.

This pamphlet has been almost completely rewritten since its last edition and contains much new material on the politics of the legislature and nonpartis-

an politics in local elections. It continues a brief description of the state's political profile and explanation of the unique features of California politics, including the extensive use of the initiative and referendum and the unusually strong position of unofficial party organizations. Other subjects covered are official party organizations, nominations and elections, pressure groups, the press and a short bibliography on California politics.

A.K.S.

Metropolitan Areas

MIAMI METRO. THE ROAD TO URBAN UNITY. By Reinhold P. Wolff. Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Miami, Coral Gables 46, Florida, 1960. x, 206 pp.

The economics of the area governed by Metropolitan Dade County is the major concern of *Miami Metro*. Although the book is almost a year old, it remains the only popularly available source of much information on the Metro "experiment." Of particular value is the long but interestingly written sections that describe the economic and political structure of the 26 municipalities located within Dade County. Fortunately, Dr. Wolff is neither an apologist for Metro nor is he unduly pessimistic about its chances of survival.

W.J.D.B.

Auditoriums

AUDITORIUMS AND ARENAS. Facts from a Survey by the International Association of Auditorium Managers. By Francis R. Deering, Don Jewell and Lindsley C. Lueddeke. Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, 1961. 92 pp. Illus., tables.

This is a compilation of information designed to meet three basic needs:

"1. Establishment of fundamentals of auditorium management;

"2. A compilation of management data that reveals the practices followed in major auditoriums in the United States and Canada;

"3. An outline of administrative and operational problems."

Although the survey is mainly statistical, containing comparative figures on construction costs and financing auditorium operations and personnel, it also covers such subjects as administrative practices, problems of site evaluation and facilities needed, and licenses and taxes.

A.K.S.

County Government

NASSAU COUNTY: ITS GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR EXPENDITURE AND REVENUE PATTERNS. By Samuel F. Thomas. City College Press, Washington Square, New York, 1960. xiv, 117 pp. \$4.50.

Nassau County, next east of New York City, has doubled in size since 1950 and its 1,300,000 population is entangled in obsolete local political divisions that need bold overhauling. This admirable manual of facts and charts provides understanding of a bewildering complex.

R.S.C.

Planning

PLANNING AND THE URBAN COMMUNITY. Edited by Harvey S. Perloff. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. 1961. xvii, 235 pp. \$4.00.

The Carnegie Institute of Technology and the University of Pittsburgh have been studying the feasibility of establishing a jointly sponsored planning school. Out of these early explorations evolved a joint planning seminar that was held during the fall of 1958. *Planning and the Urban Community* is composed of the papers presented by distinguished speakers plus the commentaries made by equally noted authorities.

The first series deals with the urban community itself, the second part with various approaches to organizing city planning, and the concluding section probes the nature of planning activities and their implications for planning education.

W.J.D.B.

Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Capital Improvement Programs

CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS. Proceedings of the Section on Public Works and Planning, 25th Annual Institute of Government, 1960. Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle, in cooperation with The Divisions of Continuing Education and Public Services and University Relations, October 1960. 46 pp. \$1.00. (Apply University of Washington Press, Seattle 5.)

IMPACT OF PROPOSED 1961-66 CAPITAL PROGRAM ON FUTURE DEBT-SERVICE REQUIREMENTS. Prepared for Citizens' Budget Committee. Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division) in Association with the Bureau of Municipal Research, Liberty Trust Building, Philadelphia 7, September 1960. 26 pp. Tables. \$1.00.

Council-Manager Plan

COUNCIL AND COMMISSION MANAGER GOVERNMENT. By Ruth Y. Wetmore. Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, Lawrence, December 1960. 37 pp.

County Government

MODERNIZATION OF NONCHARTER COUNTY LAW. Final Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government. Assembly of the State of California, Sacramento, 1960. 28 pp.

A STUDY OF PARISH GOVERNMENT IN LOUISIANA. By L. E. Chandler. *College Bulletin*, Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond, January 1960. 27 pp.

Education

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION. Edited by Douglas

M. Knight. Published for The American Assembly, Columbia University, by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1960. ix, 208 pp. \$3.50 cloth-bound, \$1.95 paperbound.

WARREN WOODS—A STUDY OF REORGANIZATION ALTERNATIVES. Citizens Research Council of Michigan, 1526 David Stott Building, Detroit 26, December 1960. 47 pp. Tables.

Election Computers

THE FASTEST REPORTED ELECTION. International Business Machines Corporation, 590 Madison Avenue, New York 22, 1961. 16 pp. Illus.

Ethics in Government

POLITICS AND ETHICS. By Robert Gordis. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California, 1961. 36 pp.

Federal Officials

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MELTON HILL RESERVOIR. Comprehensive Plan for Land Use Development. Tennessee State Planning Commission, C1-121 Cordell Hull Building, Nashville 3, December 1960. 85 pp. Illus., maps. \$1.00.

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THE CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE—A COMPARISON WITH OTHER STATES. By Patricia Stuart. Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Storrs, January 1961. 16 pp.

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ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL. An Official Study (Revised). By the Joint Committee of the States to Study Alcoholic Beverage Laws. The Committee, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C., 1960. xii, 114 pp. Tables.

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THE DETROIT AREA STUDY. A Bibliography of Material Based on Detroit Area Study Research: September 1, 1951—December 31, 1960. Survey Research Center, Department of Sociology, Uni-

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PROPOSED PLANNING OBJECTIVES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA. Prepared for Dade County Planning Advisory Board by Comprehensive Plan Division, Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, Miami, February 1960. 20 pp. Charts.

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SMALL SHOPPING CENTERS—A Symposium. By Arthur M. King, Greenlaw Grupe, Paul D. Ambrose and Carl Detering. *Urban Land*, Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., January 1961. 7 pp. \$1.00.

WHAT MAKES SHOPPING CENTERS TICK. By Samuel Feinberg. Reprinted from *Women's Wear Daily*. Fairchild

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SPECIAL DISTRICT PROBLEMS IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA. Final Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Municipal and County Government. Assembly of the State of California, Sacramento, 1960. 51 pp.

State Government

AN OUTLINE OF RHODE ISLAND STATE GOVERNMENT. By John O. Stitely. Bureau of Government Research, University of Rhode Island, Kingston, 1961. 20 pp. 50 cents.

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A BALANCED HIGHWAY PROGRAM. By Chester Biesen. (Based on Remarks Made to the Washington State Good Roads Association Convention, Yakima, September 30, 1960.) Association of Washington Cities, Governor Hotel, Olympia, 1960. 12 pp.

FINANCING MISSOURI'S ROAD NEEDS. An Analysis of Revenues, Expenditures and Methods of Financing Missouri Road Needs to 1980. Prepared for the Joint Legislative Committee on Roads, Streets and Highways and the Missouri State Highway Commission. Bureau of Business and Economic Research, School of Business and Public Administration, University of Missouri, Columbia, December 1960. Tables, charts.

STREET AND HIGHWAY STANDARDS. Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission, Griggs-Midway Building, St. Paul 4, Minnesota, March 1961. 29 pp. Charts.

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ACTUAL AND PROJECTED REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES OF THE PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL DISTRICT 1955-1964. Prepared for Citizens' Budget Committee. Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division) in association with the Bureau

of Municipal Research, Liberty Trust Building, Philadelphia 7, February 1961. 28 pp. Tables. \$1.50.

FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW: 1959 MINNESOTA STATE LEGISLATURE. Research Division, Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 812 Minnesota Building, St. Paul 1, April 1960. 35 pp. Tables.

FISCAL FACTS FOR MINNESOTANS 1961. A Concise Background of Pertinent Information About Your State and Its Government. Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 812 Minnesota Building, St. Paul 1, December 1960. 75 pp. Tables.

A SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR FINANCING AREA DEVELOPMENT IN MICHIGAN. By Harold T. Smith. The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 709 South Westnedge Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan, December 1960. 91 pp.

Transportation

THE EFFECT OF THE LOUISVILLE WATERSON EXPRESSWAY ON LAND USE AND LAND VALUES. Prepared for the Kentucky Department of Highways in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Roads, U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1960. 60 pp. Illus., tables, charts.

TRANSPORTATION. *Newark Commerce*, Newark Association of Commerce and Industry, 9 Clinton Street, Newark 2, New Jersey, September and November 1960. 14 and 23 pp. respectively. Illus.

Urban Development and Renewal

BALTIMORE—PATTERN FOR URBAN RENEWAL. By C. Meredith Boyce. Address before the Municipal Forum of New York. The Forum, New York, February 1961. (Apply Arthur R. Guastella, *The Bond Buyer*, 67 Pearl Street, New York 4.)

THE WORKABLE PROGRAM FOR URBAN RENEWAL 1960-61, CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO. Office of the Mayor, San Francisco, April 1960. 82 pp.

Ponder Plans for '61 Conference

Plans for the 67th annual National Conference on Government were discussed with Miami area civic leaders at a meeting held recently.

Ralph A. Fossey, realtor and former chairman of the Dade County Board of Commissioners and of the Dade County Port Authority, who has been chosen chairman of the Arrangements Committee, presided.

Alfred W. Loughby, National Municipal League executive director, described briefly the history and purposes of the National Conference and outlined the tentative plans for this year's Conference which will be held at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach November 30—December 2.

He pointed out that this Conference will be the second in a cycle of three on the theme "American System: Web of Governments" and that the immediate theme will deal with metropolitan areas as a focal point of intergovernmental cooperation or conflict. The Miami area was chosen, he said, because of the nation-wide interest in Dade County's experiment in metropolitan government.

Also attending the meeting were:

Winston W. Wynne, League regional vice president and Dade County commissioner; Clark B. Ash, associate editor, *Miami News*; Mrs. Maxine Baker, former president, Miami League of Women Voters; Mark Chartrand, of Wometco Enterprises;

William T. Kruglak II, vice presi-

dent, Government Research Council; Robert Peterson, president, Miami Beach Taxpayers Association; Hugh Purvis, former president, Miami-Dade County Chamber of Commerce; William P. Simmons, president, Miami-Dade County Chamber of Commerce;

Mrs. H. Franklin Williams, president, Miami-Dade County League of Women Voters; Thomas J. Wood, chairman, Department of Government, University of Miami; and Mrs. Aileen R. Lotz, executive director, Government Research Council, Miami-Dade County Chamber of Commerce.



Ralph A. Fossey

Resolution Recalls Buttenheim Service

The memory of the late Harold S. Buttenheim, editor emeritus of *The American City* who for many years was prominent in League activities, was honored at a recent meeting of the Executive Committee by the following resolution:

"At its first meeting since the passing of Harold S. Buttenheim, the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League recalls with deep appreciation and affection his half-century of loyal and dedicated service as a member of seven creative committees, including those which established two important subsidiaries—the League's Consultant Service, which during the depression served cities in financial distress, and the Municipal Administration Service, now Public Administration Service—and, further, his long unselfish service as a member of the National Municipal League's Council and Executive Committee and as Honorary Vice President."

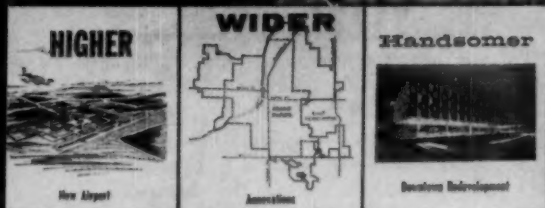


The Grand Rapids Press

April 7, 1963



Above: League, Look and local dignitaries view Worcester, Massachusetts, All-America City parade. Left: Newspaper's front page displays city's new title. Below left: Lloyd Hale, League Regional Vice President, presents award to Mayor Gordon Micklethun of Bloomington, Minnesota. Below: Mayor Junio Lopez crowning Las Vegas (New Mexico) All-America City Queen.



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Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 32 pages (1959)	\$.25
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Comments of Labor Union Leaders in Council-Manager Cities (mimeographed), 6 pages (1959)10
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Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)75
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Model City Charter, 172 pages (1941)	1.50
Model Civilian Absentee Voting Law, 14 pp. mimeographed (1959)	2.00
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model County Charter, 109 pages (1956)	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 46 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 32 pp. mimeographed (1959)	2.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 38 pages (1954)	1.00
Model Municipal Revenue Bond Law, 31 pages (1958)	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 60 pages (1954)	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law, 73 pages (1955)	1.00
Model State Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Law, 28 pp. mimeographed (1961)	2.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953)75
Model State Constitution, 63 pages (1948)	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 40 pages (1961)50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1960)15
Chronic Overlapping, by James K. Pollock (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 8 pp. (1960)25
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952)	3.50
Compilation of the 48 Direct Primary Systems, 55 pages (1960)	2.00
Coroners—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 102 pages mimeographed (1960)	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 82 pages (1960)	2.00
Goals for Metropolis, by Luther Gulick (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 10 pp. (1960)25
Guide for Charter Commissions, 48 pages (1960)	1.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 40 pages (1959) ..	.50
Maze of Governments, by W. Brooke Graves (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 25 pp. (1960)50
Metropolitan Areas 1960, by Paul Studenski (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW), 17 pp. (1960)50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)25

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